



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Tuesday
13 April 1993

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Djibouti

Five Presidential Candidates Named

EA1104215093 *Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali* 1700 GMT 11 Apr 93

[Text] Five candidates will take part in Djibouti's presidential elections, which will take place on 7 May.

On the expiration of the allotted period and the notification of the Constitutional Council, the Ministry of Home Affairs announced today the names of the five candidates: Hassan Gouled Aptidon, Popular Rally for Progress; Adan Robleh Awaleh, Djibouti National Party; Muhammad Jama Elabeh, Movement for Reconciliation and Peace; Ahmad Ibrahim Abdi, independent; and Muhammad Moussa Ali [word indistinct], who is also an independent candidate.

Election campaigns start officially on 23 April at midnight and end on 5 May [word indistinct].

Ethiopia

Addis Ababa University Reopens

EA0904230593 *Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia in Amharic to Neighboring Countries* 1600 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Excerpt] It has been announced that the students of Addis Ababa University and its various faculties have resumed their studies and that the teaching and learning process is underway in a good manner. The heads of the various educational institutes have noted that the university and college education, which was disrupted last January, resumed yesterday. [passage omitted]

Tanzania

Religious Extremists Destroy Butcher Shops

EA0904232093 *Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili* 1900 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Text] Dar es Salaam—The Dar es Salaam regional commissioner, Honorable Mustafa Nyang'anyi, has strongly condemned acts this evening by a group of Muslims, said to be extremists, which involved destroying butcher shops selling pork in the Magomeni area of Dar es Salaam. The Dar es Salaam regional

commissioner warned that severe legal measures would be taken against those who perpetrated these acts. He added that, if the group went ahead to implement its plans to continue with these disruptions tomorrow, severe action would be taken against it by the security forces.

Hon. Nyang'anyi stressed that our country was secular but Tanzanians follow different religions and have been living together by being friendly to one another, tolerating and respecting one another, and upholding the principles of the law. For this reason, everyone is expected to uphold these principles, which were built up over a period of many years. He said that in Tanzania anyone upset by anything should seek legal redress and not take the law into their own hands.

Interior Minister Comments

EA1104064393 *Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili* 1800 GMT 10 Apr 93

[Text] Dar es Salaam—The interior minister and deputy prime minister, Augustine Mrema, has given orders that all those involved in damaging a number of butcher shops selling pork in the quarters of (Manzese) and Magomeni in Dar es Salaam yesterday must be arrested and charged in court.

Mrema said this today when addressing hundreds of workers (Manzese) in one of the destroyed shops. He stressed that the nation would perish if this type of act were allowed to continue without any measures being taken.

Uganda

Government Closes Somali Embassy

EA0904231093 *Nairobi KNA in English* 1255 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Kampala, 9 Apr (KNA/PANA)—Uganda has closed the Somali Embassy in Kampala, the Foreign Ministry announced in a press release Thursday [8 April]. The press statement, dated 24th March [date as received], stated that the decision was prompted by the lack of any form of government in Somalia. It added that the closure was effected the same day. It said the government would continue monitoring the situation in Somalia and review its policy as soon as a government takes effective control of the whole country. [passage omitted]

Suspect in Hani Killing Remanded in Custody*MB1304070693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0652
GMT 13 Apr 93*

[By Guy Rogers]

[Text] Boksburg April 13 SAPA—Forty-year-old Janusz Walus, suspected of assassinating SA [South African] Communist Party General Secretary Chris Hani at his home on Saturday [10 April], appeared briefly in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court on Tuesday morning where he was not asked to plead.

No charges were put to Mr. Walus and he was remanded in custody till May 12 this year.

Wearing a brown suit, a white shirt and a tie, Mr. Walus stood to attention when he appeared before the magistrate at about 8.20 am.

When asked whether he understood the proceedings, the suspect replied: "Yes, Mr. Magistrate."

The whole proceedings took a couple of minutes and started before the scheduled time of 9 am.

No protesters had arrived at the court by the time the proceedings were over.

No Bail Application Made*MB1304074593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0732
GMT 13 Apr 93*

[By Guy Rogers]

[Excerpts] Boksburg April 13 SAPA—Forty-year-old Janusz Walus, alleged to have assassinated SA [South African] Communist Party General Secretary Chris Hani at his home on Saturday [10 April], appeared briefly in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court on Tuesday morning where he was not asked to plead. [passage omitted]

No bail application was made.

The whole proceedings took a couple of minutes.

After the proceedings ended and Mr. Walus was whipped away in a police vehicle, a heated argument broke out between an unidentified, elderly white man and several African National [as received] supporters, who turned up at the court.

The argument began when the elderly man took exception to being photographed and threatened to shoot the photographer.

A crowd then gathered around his vehicle and argued with him.

During one heated exchange, the man declared: "I have a gun and I will use it."

When he asked who he was, he tersely replied: "Father Christmas."

As the crowd jostled around his vehicle, police intervened and cleared the way.

Walus Maintaining Silence in Custody*MB1304142693 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1400
GMT 13 Apr 93*

[Text] Police say the suspect in the Chris Hani murder is being very uncooperative. Police spokesman Brigadier Frans Malherbe says Janusz Walus has refused to talk to police since his arrest half-an-hour after Hani was killed on Saturday. John Matham reports:

[Matham] Walus appeared briefly in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court this morning. He was not asked to plead, and the case was remanded until the 12 May. Malherbe says Walus's lack of cooperation is making it difficult to find out whether or not the murder was part of a conspiracy. In Malherbe's words: He is absolutely speechless; he doesn't even ask for water. ANC [African National Congress] PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] Chairman Tokyo Sexwale says he views the SAP's [South African Police] inability to get Walus to talk with suspicion. As he puts it, highly trained ANC cadres have confessed. This man must confess. Malherbe says police are looking very hard at the possibility that other people were involved in the murder. He says 14 highly trained detectives have been working day and night, following up all possible leads.

Said Member of White Wolves, AWB*MB1304135193 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
13 Apr 93 p 3*

[By Kaizer Nyatumba]

[Text] Mass murderer and Wit Wolwe [White Wolves; WW] leader Barend Strydom yesterday justified the murder of SACP [South African Communist Party] leader Chris Hani on Saturday, and called for the immediate release of Janusz Walus. In an interview with THE STAR, Strydom described Hani as "an enemy of the Boer nation (whose) terrorist plans killed many of our people". Strydom said Walus was a member of both the WW and the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], and had ties with other right-wing organisations. "We are disgusted that a man should be arrested for a deed like this, when he has actually acted in the interests of the Boer community. When the Government unbanned the ANC, Hani was an enemy of the State and the Boer people," he said. However, Strydom would not say whether Walus had been instructed by his organisation to carry out the assassination, nor would he disclose how long he had been a member of the WW. He said he had not seen the hit list that police found at Walus's home, and would not comment on whether the WW had compiled a list of people to be killed. Strydom said he would release a statement today commenting on these issues.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said he had never heard of Walus until his arrest, and non of his right-wing contacts knew him. Van Tonder said he did not think Walus had any link to the right wing here, but

thought he had a grudge against communists because of what they had done in his native Poland.

Called 'Easily Influenced' Anti-Communist

MB1304141093 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
13 Apr 93 p 1

[By Norman Chandler and Phillip Zoio]

[Text] A generous but easily influenced man, embittered by the nationalisation of his family's business by Polish communists, is the sketch friends and acquaintances yesterday drew of alleged assassin Janusz "Koba" Walus. The politics of glass salesman Walus were described yesterday as "certainly right wing" but not fanatical. And friends, who spoke of a slow man with simple needs, were adamant that he would have been unlikely to have been alone in planning any event requiring enterprise or guile.

The picture that emerges of Walus—a Polish immigrant who came to South Africa 11 years ago and later took out naturalisation—is that of an anti-communist who was deeply angry that his family's glass company was nationalised when the communists took over Poland 50-old years ago.

"During conversations with him it was apparent that 'Koba' was definitely upset about the losses suffered by his family," said Peter Jackson, managing director of the firm he worked for, Cosfoam Products. He said Walus did not work for the plastics company Boplas, and had nothing to do with other companies in the group. He was a salesman at Cosfoam and had a good relationship with fellow workers, both black and white. "He was very much a loner...I never saw him with friends, but at work he was always cheerful and willing. A drawback was that his English was not good."

Walus has been dating an Afrikaans-speaking woman for several years. She works in a game reserve. Her name is being withheld by family.

Walus's former wife and daughter live in Poland. His brother, Witon, owns a truck repair business north of Pretoria, and a sister, Yvonne lives in the city.

Lucy Banola, who stayed with Walus on a smallholding near Pretoria for four months last year, said she never once saw him angry or aggressive. But he did not have a strong character, she said. He was not highly intelligent. The only newspaper he read was THE CITIZEN.

He used to actively assist the CP [Conservative Party], particularly before the referendum last year. He also supported the AWB, although Banola did not remember him saying whether he had actually joined the organisation. Although Walus made jokes about black people, he did not hate them, she said.

He was a champion rally car driver in Poland and an average shot who always carried a firearm, she said.

Apartheid Movement To Pay Wallus' Legal Costs

MB1204124293 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0900
GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] An extremist right wing group says it will pay Wallus' legal costs. The World Apartheid Movement, or WAM, has told the CITIZEN newspaper that the organization sympathizes with Wallus. WAM leader Koos Vermulen says he has undertaken to give the Pole moral and financial support. WAM describes itself as a worldwide anticommunist group with a policy of ethnic preservation.

Demonstrations, Violence Continue

Crowds Gather Near Hani Home

MB1204133693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1250
GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Johannesburg April 12 SAPA—About 3,000 people have gathered in the vicinity of the East Rand home of slain SA Communist Party (SACP) leader Chris Hani, SA Police spokesman W/O [Warrant Officer] Andy Pieke said on Monday afternoon. Police are maintaining a strong presence in the area and the situation is under control, said W/O Pieke, who appealed to residents "not to panic". Another 2,500-strong crowd from the township of Vosloorus was also on its way to Mr. Hani's house, he said.

A white resident who telephoned SAPA earlier on Monday, alleged "about 10,000 marchers, armed with sticks and spears and carrying SACP and ANC [African National Congress] banners are all over the streets, harassing motorists and shouting anti-white slogans." Police could not confirm this allegation.

Mr. Hani was assassinated in the driveway of his home in Dawn Park, a suburb in the conservative white enclave of Boksburg, on Saturday.

East Rand Townships 'Chaotic,' Cars Burned

MB1304091293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2153
GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Johannesburg April 12 SAPA—East Rand townships were chaotic on Monday as residents reacted violently to the assassination of South African Communist Party Chief Chris Hani. Witwatersrand police spokesman Brig. Frans Malherbe said.

Violence was reported at Katlehong, Thokoza, and Tsakane.

Brig. Malherbe said security force reinforcements were rushed to the townships as angry youths had tried to burn police vehicles, delivery trucks and private cars.

"The situation is tense and chaotic. There is a communication problem with the police on the ground there, as they are rushing to various parts of the townships to deal with the violence," Brig. Malherbe said.

According to news reports, up to 10,000 people gathered in Katlehong and elements later took to the streets, burning and stoning vehicles.

Journalists hurriedly left the area when harassed by angry youths.

Brig. Malherbe confirmed that two passengers were injured at mid-morning when the bus in Katlehong's Malekeli Section ploughed into a house after being stoned.

In another attack, the owner of the Mashubula Meat Market in Nyala Section fired shots into the air with his own pistol when a group of people tried to set his premises alight at 4.30 p.m.

No police action was taken in this attack, Brig. Malherbe said.

Police [words indistinct] dispersed 400 people protesting against Mr. Hani's assassination.

About 150 people had emerged from a meeting in the township's stadium earlier that day, but the crowd had gradually swelled, and had stoned police all day Brig. Malherbe said.

On the west rand, police spokeswoman Maj. Henriette Bester said three youths were arrested for petrol-bombing and stoning shops in the Kagiso mall.

Sixteen shops were still ablaze at 4.40 p.m she said.

Community and political leaders attributed the incident to radical or criminal elements who had taken advantage of a meeting to commemorate Mr. Hani's death.

In Mamelodi, near Pretoria, where there was also a commemoration rally, about 300 people were dispersed by police after someone hurled a stone, injuring a policeman. Police fired two teargas canisters at the crowd.

Eight youths were arrested in possession of stolen goods after the attack on the Kagiso mall, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reports.

Police said 18 shops were damaged and two rooms of a doctor's surgery had been completely destroyed by fire.

Police Reinforcements Sent In

MB1204171593 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1600 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] There has been violence on both the East and West Rand townships in the wake of the assassination of SACP [South African Communist Party] leader Chris Hani. Police reinforcements were sent into Katlehong, Thokoza, and Tsakane today as angry youths stoned and burned vehicles. In one incident in Katlehong earlier today, shots were fired at security forces and journalists. In Kagiso on the West Rand, several shops were petrol-bombed and private vehicles attacked.

A police spokesman described the situation as tense and chaotic. Three youths have been arrested. We hope to bring you visuals of the disruption in the townships in later bulletins. There have also been several reports of stone throwing on the Golden Highway between Johannesburg and Vereeniging.

Meanwhile, thousands of Vosloorus residents held a memorial service for the late Chris Hani at the local stadium. President of the ANC [African National Congress] Youth League Mr. Peter Mokaba addressed the gathering. From the stadium the crowd marched to the local police station where a memorandum in protest at the slaying of the SACP [South African Communist Party] leader was presented to Captain (Farisi Mnisi). There then followed one of the most potentially explosive situations of the day—a march through Boksburg to the Hani home. No permission had been asked for the protest, but police decided to keep watch from a distance. There were no reports of violence at Dawn Park, though, and the crowds dispersed, leaving behind a group of a couple of hundred who intend to keep vigil until the Hani funeral.

Protests Turn Violent

MB1204123993 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1100 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] A protest against the murder of Chris Hani has turned violent. Demonstrators in the East Rand township of Katlehong have opened fire on journalists. REUTER photographer Jida Ngwenya says gunmen fired at black and white journalists who tried to film a truck that had been set alight. He says no one was injured, but a cameraman for CBS Television narrowly missed being struck by a bullet. A car carrying a team from REUTER Television was also stoned.

Meanwhile, there has been confrontation between Pretoria police and a crowd marching to a meeting to commemorate Chris Hani. The Communist Party leader was murdered outside his East Rand home on Saturday [10 April]. Tensions are apparently running high in Pretoria's Mamelodi township. A group of youths had apparently regrouped and armed themselves with stones—that is, in response to police opening tear gas on a crowd of about 300 on their way to the local community center for the meeting. Police say the crowd was stopped and told to proceed in smaller groups. They say somebody then stoned a police vehicle, injuring a sergeant, and leading to police throwing two tear gas canisters at the crowd to disperse them. Police say they are monitoring the situation.

10,000 Protesters in Katlehong

MB1204125393 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1200 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Chaos has erupted in the East Rand townships of Katlehong, Thokoza, and Tsakane in the wake of the assassination of Communist Party leader Chris Hani. Police say security reinforcements have been rushed to

the townships. Brigadier Frans Malherbe says the situation is chaotic with protesters setting vehicles on fire. Angry youths have tried to burn police vehicle, delivery trucks, and private cars. Reports say up to 10,000 people have gathered at one point in Katlehong.

Update on Hani-Related Violence

MB1204172193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1530 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Johannesburg April 12 SAPA—Buses were stoned, vehicles were set alight and a policeman's house was burnt down in violence on the East Rand on Monday linked to the assassination of South African Communist Party General Secretary Chris Hani. Police spokesman W/O [Warrant Officer] Andy Piek said rubber bullets were fired on Monday afternoon to disperse a crowd which had burnt down a house belonging to a police sergeant in Moshoeshoe section in Katlehong. The crowd, estimated at 200 people, was returning from Mr. Hani's Boksburg house when it began stoning the Katlehong police station, breaking the windows of buildings and vehicles, W/O Piek said. The crowd then went on to set fire to the house.

The driver of a Putco [Public Utility Transport Corporation] bus lost control of his vehicle when it was stoned in the Maluleke section, also in Katlehong, and ploughed into a house earlier on Monday. People inside the building were injured and all the bus' windows were smashed.

Members of the Internal Stability Unit early on Monday found a burnt-out vehicle at the corner of Maphike and Hospital Streets in Katlehong. At midday five shots were fired at the vehicle of a policeman on his way to investigate a case of arson. The policeman was unharmed, said W/O Piek.

In Tsakane outside Brakpan police on Monday found a burnt-out truck belonging to a private security company.

Phola Park squatters in Thokhoza on the East Rand, delivered a petition to the local police station on Monday morning, expressing concern about Mr. Hani's death and demanding more information on the investigations into the death of East Rand Civic leader Sam Ntuli.

The African National Congress said one person was killed in Phola Park, but police denied the report, saying a man who had allegedly fired at them, had been injured after being shot in the neck.

Rally in Mamelodi Ends Without Incident

MB1204135693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1335 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Pretoria April 12 SAPA—A rally in the Pretoria township of Mamelodi ended without incident on Sunday [as received] afternoon after an appeal by leaders of the ANC [African National Congress]-alliance for restraint, calm and forgiveness. Earlier, African National Congress "young lions" called for arms to be taken up

against whites in retaliation for the assassination of Communist Party chief Chris Hani.

Apparently rejecting a peace call made by their leaders in Johannesburg on Sunday, fiery speakers from the ANC's Youth League and student wing demanded how they were expected to act responsibly in the face of the assassination.

In the end, however, the 4,000-strong crowd marched into the township streets, shouting and singing freedom songs, and there were no immediate reports of violence. Police kept a close watch on proceedings.

Policemen Killed

MB1204145493 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1400 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Tensions are running high in the Border region following the murder of Chris Hani. Two Ciskei policemen have been killed and angry crowds have gathered along the Kenton-on-Sea road near Grahamstown. Claire Keaton reports:

[Keaton] Ciskei police commissioner, General Fikile Zibi, says one off-duty policeman was shot dead in Dimbaza last night. Early in the day youth were toyi-toying [protest dance] in protest at Chris Hani's murder. Zibi says the Potsdam police station was ambushed last night and the policeman on guard outside was shot dead. Today, hundreds of people have blocked the road at Kenton-on-Sea in demonstrations against Hani's assassination. In Duncan village ANC [African National Congress] leaders have restrained angry residents from further attacks on the police station.

Meanwhile, Transkei police spokesman, Major Mbulelo Mquwane, says demonstrators today sealed off Kei Bridge in protest at South Africa's security controls. He says leaders from the South African National Civics Organization have just presented a petition to the South African police, and the crowd is expected to disperse.

Youths Arrested for Bombing

MB1204153493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1452 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Johannesburg April 12 SAPA—Three youths were arrested on Monday following the petrol-bombing and stoning of shops at the Kagiso mall near the West Rand town of Krugersdorp, according to police spokesman Maj. Henriette Bester. Maj. Bester said 16 shops were still on fire by 4.40 p.m.

She said that at 4 p.m. on Monday about 60 youths were attacking the complex, when two members of the police Internal Stability Unit arrived at the scene. Three youths were arrested and rest of the group fled. She said police were still in the process of establishing whether the incident was connected to violence by youths protesting against Saturday's assassination of South African Communist Party chief Chris Hani.

There was presently a strong police presence in Kagiso and damage estimates to the complex would be released as soon as preliminary investigations were completed, she said.

Police Confirm Injuries in Bus Attack

MB1204203893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1948 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Johannesburg April 12 SAPA—On Monday evening Witwatersrand police spokesman Brig. Frans Malherbe confirmed that two passengers were injured when the bus in Katlehong's Malekeli section ploughed into a house after being stoned.

In another attack, the owner of the Mashubula meat market in Nyala Section fired shots into the air with his own pistol when a group of people tried to set his premises alight at 4.30 p.m. No police action was taken in this attack, Brig. Malherbe said.

ANC Doubts Alleged Hani Killer's Hit List

MB1204165493 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1600 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] says it doubts the existence of a list found in the flat of Mr. Hani's alleged killer, which police say could be a hit list. Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe today announced that the list found in the flat of Polish immigrant Janusz Wallus contained the names and addresses of Mr. Hani and others. It also included names of leaders across the political spectrum, as well as non-political figures.

At a news conference in Johannesburg today, chairman of the ANC's PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] Region, Tokyo Sexwale, suggested that the police could have compiled such a list.

[Begin Sexwale recording] How can we believe their hit list? It's natural that it could be substituted. We can never trust the police. It may be a decoy. There may be another hit list. So many people are on the hit lists, which are circulating throughout the country. It is a matter of deep concern that the gun that killed Comrade Hani was stolen from the SADF [South African Defense Force]. At the time of this event, Comrade Hani publicly questioned the apparent ease at which the guns had been removed from the air force base near Pretoria. He believed that these weapons and others stolen from the Defense Forces were, in fact, being removed for covert operations. [end recording]

He said the tripartite alliance demanded a full investigation by an independent commission into Mr. Hani's assassination. Mr. Sexwale also announced that a stay-away had been declared on Wednesday [14 April] to commemorate Mr. Hani's death. The alliance also agreed on a massive protest march in Johannesburg on Saturday [17 April], which will be supported by other marches elsewhere in the region.

ANC's Sexwale Says Government Tied to Killing

MB1204144193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1419 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Johannesburg April 12 SAPA—African National Congress (ANC) PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] Regional Chairman Tokyo Sexwale on Monday charged that there was a link between the government and the killing of SA Communist Party (SACP) chief Chris Hani on Saturday. Mr. Sexwale told a press conference in Johannesburg that the ANC/SACP/Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] alliance believed it was convenient for the government now to focus on suspected assassin Janusz Wallus as a Pole rather than to recognise that Pretoria had given him citizenship and more rights than the majority of the people of South Africa. He said the man had the right to gun licences and the right to bring his prejudices into this country.

He said there was information that the suspected assassin was being handled "with kid gloves" by the police, who have said he was not co-operating during questioning.

The alliance wanted "immediate joint control of the security forces and a full investigation by the international community into the assassination of Chris Hani." "We reject the idea that an open and fair investigation into the assassination of the former chief of the Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation] (MK) can be conducted by a member of the same corrupt forces Hani fought so long against. We demand the full investigation by an independent commission of the assassination of Hani," said Mr. Sexwale.

Asked about calls from other ANC regions that negotiations should be halted, Mr. Sexwale said this demonstrated the angry mood of black people, and that the call came in the heat of the moment. The alliance would be channelling that anger responsibly.

Mr. Sexwale went on to announce that a stayaway had been declared for the PWV area on Wednesday to commemorate Mr. Hani's death, and a number of activities were lined up by sub-regions throughout the region. Pickets are scheduled to start at 6 a.m. on Tuesday and continue throughout the day. A picket outside the Boksburg magistrates' court, where the accused will appear, is scheduled for 9 a.m. on Tuesday. Various rallies in townships on the Reef had been planned.

Meanwhile, the COSATU-affiliated National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) on Monday called on its members to observe Mr. Hani's death by holding memorial services between 2 p.m. and 6 p.m. on Wednesday. Mining houses and Eskom [Electricity Supply Commission] were asked by the union to co-operate in facilitating the services.

ANC Youths Call For 'Retaliation' on Whites

MB1204125093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1201
GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Pretoria April 12 SAPA—In an emotion-charged rally in the Pretoria township of Mamelodi on Monday, the ANC's [African National Congress] "young lions" have called for arms to be taken up against whites in retaliation for the assassination of Communist Party General Secretary Chris Hani.

Apparently rejecting a peace call made by their leaders in Johannesburg on Sunday, fiery speakers from the African National Congress Youth League and student wing demanded how they were expected to act responsibly in the face of the assassination.

"It is time we told the leadership that enough is enough and now is the time to hit back."

Speakers also called for a boycott of white businesses in Pretoria to protest the killing of Mr. Hani, who was gunned down in the driveway of his East Rand home on Saturday.

SAPA's correspondent at the rally reports this decision will be ratified at Congress of South African Trade Union offices in Pretoria on Monday and will be announced at a commemorative rally for Mr. Hani in Mamelodi on Wednesday.

The more than 3,500 people at the rally resolved en masse to stay away from work to attend the meeting.

Numerous speakers alleged Mr. Hani's assassination was planned by the government.

MK Rejects Call for Armed Struggle

MB1304095793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2338
GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Johannesburg April 12 SAPA—A member of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—MK], Mr. Sipho Mokwena, called late on Monday night for peace.

Reacting to what he said was a report on SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation]-TV stating that Pretoria's Mamelodi residents had taken a decision to resume the armed struggle, Mr. Mokwena said in a telephonic statement to SAPA: "The MK, which takes instructions from the national office of the ANC [African National Congress], distances itself from whatever has been said in Mamelodi. We say we abide by the decision of our national leaders, which says we must remain calm.

"We are going to honour our former chief of staff, Comrade Chris Hani, in the manner that befits what he has preached...a peaceful approach.... He said we must preach peace."

ANC Youth League Chairman Urges Discipline

MB1204204193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1924
GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Johannesburg April 12 SAPA—People could not look on while their leaders were being killed, African National Congress Youth League Chairman Peter Mokaba said in Vosloorus on Monday. SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] Television News reported that Mr. Mokaba said at a memorial service for slain South African Communist Party [SACP] leader Chris Hani, that people had to re-organise themselves until the killers were brought to book. He called on all peace-lovers to maintain discipline however.

Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, who was also present at the service at the local stadium, said Mr. Hani had left the people with a mandate to work for peace. She called on youth to be more vigilant and to protect their leaders against would-be assassins.

The crowd later marched to the local police station to hand over a memorandum protesting against Mr. Hani's assassination before marching to the SACP leader's home in Dawn Park, Boksburg.

ANC Midlands Leader Negates Racist War Idea

MB1304083393 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0500
GMT 13 Apr 93

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] Natal Midlands Boss Harry Gwala says the ANC will never fight a racist war. He told a commemoration meeting for Chris Hani in Edendale near Pietermaritzburg that the fight is against racism. Gwala's speech came after several other speakers at the meeting issued a call to arms, saying the ANC was, in their words, tired of being a burial society. These words were greeted by thunderous applause from the crowd. When it was his turn to speak, Gwala said the ANC had never advocated war, and had only taken up arms when all other avenues were closed.

Tutu Wants 'Sense of Urgency' in Negotiations

MB1204171793 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1600 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, says mindless violence after the death of Mr. Hani plays into the hands of assassins. Archbishop Tutu said in a television interview in Cape Town that the assassins had wanted to undermine the peace process. He urged people to mourn with dignity, and called on political leaders to inject a sense of urgency into the negotiations.

ANC Seeks Immediate Control of Security Forces

MB1204135793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1259
GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] The tripartite alliance of the ANC [African National Congress], SACP [South African Communist Party] and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade

[SAPA PR Wire Service, issued by the African National Congress, 12 April] Unions] together with SANCO [South African National Civic Organizations] and MK

[Umkhonto we Sizwe—Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing] met today, Monday, 12th April, to plan massive rolling action to protest the assassination of Cde Chris Hani. It is a matter of deep concern that the gun that killed Cde Hani was stolen from the SADF [South African Defense Force]. At the time of this event Cde Hani publicly questioned the apparent ease at which the guns have been removed from the Air Force base near Pretoria. He believed that these weapons and others stolen from Defence Forces were in fact being removed for covert operations.

The use of a silencer together with a stolen Air Force pistol raises the question about Janusz Wallus' links with those people involved in the armoury theft.

It is convenient for the government now to focus on Wallus as a Pole rather than recognising that it gave him citizenship of this country and more rights than the majority of the people of South Africa enjoy. He had the right to gun licences and the right to bring his prejudices into this country.

We reject the idea that an open and fair investigation into the assassination of the former chief of the MK can be conducted by a member of the same corrupt forces Cde Hani fought so long against. We demand the full investigation by an independent commission of the assassination of Hani.

He fought all his life for the liberation of our people and in the end he died in the struggle for peace. A peace that does not compromise the liberation of our people but a peace that is firmly founded on a non-racial democracy, and economic and social justice. Any further delay of the elections for a democratic non-racial South Africa and the implementation of the transitional executive council will unleash an unprecedented wave of anger from our people.

We will not allow the assassination of Hani to become just another statistic. Already the anger of the people can be seen in the townships and cities of the country.

The tripartite alliance is calling for the immediate joint control of the security forces and a full investigation by the international community into the assassination of Chris Hani. We also demand the immediate disbandment of all overt operations. A stayaway in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] Region to protest against Cde Chris Hani's assassination has been declared on Wednesday by the tri-partite alliance of the ANC, SACP and COSATU. At a meeting held on Monday, 12 April 1993, the alliance also agreed on a massive protest march in Johannesburg on Saturday which will be supported by other marches elsewhere in the region.

The programme of activities as from tomorrow include picket demonstrations at all major routes to the cities, townships, particularly in Boksburg where Hani's alleged murderer Wallus will be appearing in Boksburg magistrate court.

The picket demonstrations are scheduled to start at 0600 and continue throughout the day. The Boksburg picket will start at 9 a.m. On Wednesday there will be a stayaway in the region with each sub-region holding memorial services in their own areas. The services will be held at:

1. Johannesburg—St Mary's Cathedral
2. Soweto—Jabulani Amphitheatre
3. Vaal—Sebokeng Stadium
4. East Rand—Boksburg Civic Centre
5. West Rand—Krugersdorp
6. Pretoria—[no location as received]
7. Alexander—Alex Stadium
8. Tembisa—Tembi Mall

All the memorial services will start at 1000 and will be addressed by the tripartite leadership.

ANC, Police Liaison To Monitor Violence

MB1204151693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1444 GMT 12 Apr 93

[SAPA PR Wire Service, issued by the African National Congress]

[Text] A 24-hour a day liaison structure to monitor sporadic incidents of violence and the spontaneous activities (such as protest marches) has been established today, Monday, 12 April 1993. The liaison structure, formed following the assassination of Cde Chris Hani, consists of the tripartite alliance of the ANC [African National Congress], SACP [South African Communist Party] and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], the SAP [South African Police] and the regional peace committee.

The alliance is represented by Sandile Ndlugwane and Robert McBride, the police by Captain Pretorius and Captain Wilkinson and the Peace Committee by Peter Harris and Piroshaw Camay. The alliance appeals to all members and supporters to phone in and inform our representatives about any activities in their localities. The 24-hour life-line is (011) 339-6294/5 and will be in operation until the burial of Hani.

The ANC PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] Region has received disturbing reports of attacks on whites and journalists particularly in Katlehong in the East Rand. While the ANC understands the anger of our people in this time of grief, we condemn the attacks on whites. It is true that the person who pulled the trigger that killed Cde Hani is white and is alleged that he is linked to the right-wing movement. And equally true is

that a white person informed the police of the registration and the colour of the car that his murderer used and led to his arrest.

Therefore colour does not play a role in this instance and we therefore call on our people to refrain from racial attacks and hijacking of cars. Journalists (black and white) have a right to report on events and to inform the public about those events and no person has the right to interfere in the normal cause of their duties. The international monitors (black and white) who are currently in the country at our demand have also been threatened. We demand that they be allowed access to monitor events in our townships and therefore reject any notion that black townships are now no-go areas for white people.

The ANC has always stood and fought for non-racialism and it is an ideal that we shall continuously defend and therefore call upon our members to guard against such attackers and hijackers.

The ANC, SACP, COSATU and SANCO [South African National Civics Organization] together with the regional command of MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe—Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing] have not called for any armed activities directed at the white community. Statements made at the Mamelodi commemoration rally today are unfortunate. We have also not called for any boycott of white business. Any other forms of activities will be decided upon by individual branches.

AWB Denies Ordering Hani Assassination

MB1304093993 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0600 GMT 13 Apr 93

[Text] Far-right wing leader Eugene Terreblanche says the man accused of murdering Hani is a paid up AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] member. Terreblanche says Wallus has been an AWB member since 1986. He says he met the suspected assassin once in the AWB's Pretoria office, but has no particular recollection of the meeting.

Terreblanche stresses that his organization did not order the killing. He says he condemns the assassination, but if it had been a proper battle he would have killed Hani himself. Terreblanche will now ask the government to treat Wallus as a political prisoner because, in his words, Wallus killed Hani after Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—MK] went on with its killings of whites.

Law Ministry Says Mass Action 'Irresponsible'

MB1304084593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2214 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Johannesburg April 12 SAPA—Threats by the African National Congress [ANC] to embark on a mass action campaign to force the setting of date for a general election and a transitional executive council (TEC) were irresponsible, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said on Monday.

"This kind of threat is exactly what the country does not need considering the circumstances in the wake of Mr Hani's murder," Capt. Kotze told SAPA.

"Mass action has in the past led to great violence and loss of life and this should be avoided at all costs. It is ironic that Mr. Hani's death is now apparently being used for threats which could very well lead to confrontation and even violence."

Capt. Kotze appealed to politicians to refrain from making "inflammatory demands or statements while the country's mood is so volatile...."

ANC PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] regional Chairman Tokyo Sexwale on Monday said any further delay in announcing the election date and the establishment of a TEC would "unleash an unprecedented wave of anger from our people."

Police React to ANC Criticism on Hani Security

MB1304091093 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0700 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] The government says it will step up protection for all political leaders. President F.W. de Klerk says Saturday's assassination of prominent party boss Chris Hani has made it necessary to offer reassurance to political leaders. He says he has given orders that their security be beefed up.

Police have reacted to ANC [African National Congress] criticism that they failed to provide protection to Chris Hani when asked to do so last year. Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze says the request was turned down because Hani was not in an official position, and it was impossible to give every politician more protection than an ordinary citizen. Kotze says the state will have to look anew at security and intelligence issues in the wake of Hani's assassination. Kotze says he is unable to comment on complaints that the bodyguards of senior ANC leaders are routinely refused permission to carry weapons.

National Peace Committee Shocked at Hani Killing

MB1304093393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0814 GMT 13 Apr 93

[Text] Johannesburg April 13 SAPA—National Peace Committee [NPC] Chairman John Hall on Tuesday expressed "shock and outrage at yet another senseless assassination, this time of prominent national political leader Chris Hani."

The South African Communist Party general secretary was gunned down outside his house in Dawn Park, Boksburg, on Saturday [10 April] morning.

Mr. Hall said in a statement the security forces should be given every assistance in tracking down the perpetrators of the crime, and leaders should "call for cool heads to prevent blind retaliation."

"The National Peace Accord was created to prevent polarisation in our society and will now be tested."

He said he would be contacting members of the NPC executive to "set a course of action in the face of this latest threat to peace."

Boer Nation Leader Sees Reaction to Hani Death

MB1204170393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1631 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Johannesburg April 12 SAPA—Whites who felt threatened by certain political organisations would feel a need for retribution and this could lead to more retaliatory acts, Orde Van die Boerevolk [Order of the Boer Nation—OB] leader Piet Rudolph said on Monday. Mr. Rudolph was responding to the killing of South African Communist Party [SACP] leader Chris Hani on Saturday. Police alleged Mr. Hani was killed with a weapon allegedly stolen from the South African Air Force Headquarters in April 1990 by Mr. Rudolph.

"That the acts of terror by the African National Congress [ANC], Pan Africanist Congress [PAC], and SACP should lead to a reaction from white people who felt threatened is a fact and there could necessarily be more targets to satisfy such an urge for retribution," Mr. Rudolph said in a statement.

The rightwing activist said he viewed himself as a freedom fighter, just as Mr. Hani had. "One then lives with the consequences of your convictions. This includes death."

Mr. Rudolph said the weapons he had stolen in 1990 had been distributed to "the volk (nation) which had been unarmed and still stood defenceless against the onslaught of those who wanted to take our land." He said he had not kept any of the weapons for himself.

"I was arrested and charged for the crime and, like Mr. Hani and other members of the ANC, PAC, and SACP, received indemnity from the state president."

Mr. Rudolph said he was committed to a peaceful resolution of the problems of the country. But, claimed the man nicknamed Piet Skiet (Shoot) as a result of some of his exploits, the demands of the Boerevolk (Boer nation) for the return of the Boer republics and the restoration of their freedom were being ignored. "This will lead to a process of violent eruption."

Mr. Rudolph said he sympathised with anyone who acted to restore the Boer nation's freedom. He could, however, not condone any senseless act of terror. He did not say whether he viewed Mr. Hani's death as such an act.

He warned that should the Boer nation's demands for the restoration of their freedom be held in contempt and the "safety valve to negotiate about it be closed down, there will also be eruptions." It was the government's duty to look at this issue. "No government now or in the

future must make the mistake of ignoring this simple truth," Mr. Rudolph concluded.

Security Forces on Alert for APLA Offensive

MB1004102993 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English 10 Apr 93 pp 1-2

[Report from EASTERN CAPE NEWS AGENCY and SAPA: "Security Forces on Easter Alert"]

[Text] East London—Security forces in the Border area and Ciskei are on the alert to counter a threatened "Black Easter" offensive by the Azanian People's Liberation Army [APLA], despite APLA denials that such a campaign has been planned. The SADF [South African Defence Force] has also not ruled out the possibility of attacks in the PWV [Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging] area.

And on Thursday [8 April] the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) threatened to block Transkei's borders to traffic if South African security forces were not removed from all exits and entrances to the territory by Monday.

No announcement has been made about security force plans to counter the expected APLA offensive for fear of causing panic, an eastern Cape intelligence source said. Colonel Johan Engelbrecht of the Eastern Province [EP] Command this week confirmed that the SADF was aware of the planned campaign.

"I cannot talk about further actions we are taking. As other facts and planning may come to light, we will act accordingly. We must be prepared within the realms of our responsibility to protect this country's people."

Speaking from the PAC's [Pan-Africanist Congress] Dar es Salaam offices, an APLA official said he was not aware of a "Black Easter" campaign.

Engelbrecht said the security cordon thrown around Transkei on Wednesday was not "directly linked" to information on the threatened campaign.

While the border checks aim to prevent APLA cadres from infiltrating South Africa, security forces suspect that small attack units moved from Transkei into South Africa and Ciskei before the cordon was set in place.

Attacks are expected in the Jamestown and Adelaide areas. A hotel resort in Ciskei and luxury coaches are also among suspected targets. An official for the hotel group concerned said routine security measures had been set up for this weekend. She declined to elaborate.

Security forces in Ciskei are involved in a sensitive operation to track APLA operatives smuggling weapons into the territory.

Intelligence sources report suspicions that APLA cadres have been using Fort Hare University in Alice as a hideout from which to plan and launch attacks. Fort

Hare official Arnold Stofile confirmed the university suspected that people other than students had been using student facilities.

"None of the actual students have called themselves APLA members. It's not very clear who APLA is. You know the slogan 'PASO (Pan-Africanist Students Organisation) by day and APLA by night'—I don't know how accurate it is."

The university was recently closed after students protested against crime-combating measures following the theft of food valued at R[Rand]250,000 from the campus kitchen. The row over food resulted from the administration's attempts to ascertain whether non-students were using facilities.

The carrying of dangerous weapons on campus was also a cause for concern. It is understood the university administration co-operated with Ciskei police investigating the suspected presence of APLA cadres on the property.

Recent clashes between African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress members in nearby Fort Beaufort may also be linked to a stepped-up armed PAC presence in the area.

Recently three vehicles were stolen in the area over 10 days. Weapons were found in the recovered cars, and APLA units are suspected. Police believe one of the vehicles may have been used in a recent attack on a Fort Beaufort hotel, in which a student was shot dead.

Security forces are on the lookout for mobile units of three to four men and women who have received crash courses in the use of weapons.

Responding to queries about possible attacks in the PWV area, South African Army media officer Major Merle Mayer replied: "The army is aware of the 'Black Easter' campaign by APLA and it cannot be ignored. Contingency planning against this campaign will be done in collaboration with the South African Police." In his reaction, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said the police had to "prepare for as many eventualities as possible".

It is reported that SADF [South African Defense Force] Special Forces units have been on standby for a fortnight in East London and other centres to reconnoitre a suspected APLA presence in Transkei, Venda and Botswana.

The "APLA-hunting" operation was first scheduled to begin on March 29, but was called off that evening.

A source familiar with the operation said four-strong units were to have infiltrated the areas posing as businessmen, tourists or development workers, and gather evidence of suspected collaboration between APLA and government officials.

EP Command's Colonel Engelbrecht denied the report: "It is not our policy to do that sort of intelligence-gathering any more. If that were our inclination, there wouldn't have been any need for control posts around the Transkei border."

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said on Thursday he had shelved plans to leave for Tanzania for talks with high-ranking APLA officials.

Influence of De Klerk's Advisers Assessed

MB0904151293 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 8-15 Apr 93 p 15

[By Chris Louw]

[Text] When President F.W. de Klerk needs advice, where does he get it? De Klerk depends on two kinds of colleagues: those he listens to and those he uses as sounding-boards for his ideas.

Those he listens to are primarily professional people and experts in their fields, while those whom he talks to are old friends, university mates and fellow-members of the Gereformeerde Kerk [Reformed Church], the smallest of the three Afrikaans Protestant churches whose members are known as "Doppers."

Doppers have the reputation of looking after one another's interests. De Klerk, the first Dopper head of state since Paul Kruger, is known to have appointed church members into senior positions in both the cabinet and the civil service. They also play an important role in influencing his policies.

But it is not only people that De Klerk relies on for information. What sets him apart from his predecessor, P.W. Botha, is the enormous importance he gives to scientific research and opinion polls to help him determine policy.

Botha's demise started when more than 100 Stellenbosch academics broke away from the National Party. De Klerk, on the other hand, takes intellectual advice seriously. He gets this from the National Intelligence Service [NIS], the Department of Constitutional Development, Human Sciences Research Council, independent opinion polls and, to a lesser degree, the Afrikaner Broederbond [Afrikaner Brotherhood].

The role of the NIS in De Klerk's efforts to hold his own in the political battle with the African National Congress [ANC] cannot be underestimated. It provides him with the resources of state that the ANC lacks. During the now-famous argument with Nelson Mandela at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] I, for instance, shortly after Mandela sat down, word went out to the NIS to scrutinise their files to counter Mandela's allegations of police collaboration in cases of violence. In the event, the information reached De Klerk too late.

The NIS has taken over where the Broederbond left off. Until recently, most of the research and future planning

of the NP [National Party] was done by the secretive Broederbond think-tank led by J P de Lange, a former rector of the Rand Afrikaans University [RAU] and now ostensibly a freelance political consultant but in reality still a kind of "political scout" for government.

De Lange was one of the first "establishment" people to make contact with the ANC in the mid-1980s and is known to have reported back to government leaders on these meetings.

Another important Broederbond figure who keeps close contact with De Klerk is Professor Andreas van Wyk, rector-designate of the University of Stellenbosch. Van Wyk is the man who drew up the Broederbond's secret constitutional proposals which preceded the present negotiations process. These proposals bear a remarkable resemblance to the NP's "five year plan" adopted in Bloemfontein shortly before De Klerk took over as government leader.

The haughty Van Wyk is known to be a personal friend of De Klerk's and is one of a diminishing number of Stellenboschers with a strong influence on government thought.

Recently the Broederbond itself seems to have lost some of its clout in government, however. Senior members complain that whereas previously the organisation generated ideas for government, now it serves as a rubber-stamp to "sell" the NP's ideas to its rank and file.

One senior Broederbonder who still exercises some influence on De Klerk is Professor Tjaart van der Walt. A fellow Doppe and contemporary of De Klerk, the career of the highly intelligent Van der Walt has taken a nose-dive since the 1970s when he was appointed one of the youngest rectors in the history of the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education.

Shortly after becoming chief of Afrikaans insurance giant Sanlam, Van der Walt was forced to resign by colleagues dissatisfied with the quality of his work. De Klerk reportedly had a hand in arranging for Van der Walt to become president of the HSRC [Human Sciences Research Council] in Pretoria, where he lasted slightly more than a year before again being forced to resign. De Klerk then appointed his old friend ambassador to Bophuthatswana.

De Klerk and Van der Walt see eye to eye on most things political and they are described as "whisky pals".

Inside parliament, one of De Klerk's most loyal supporters is former Springbok rugby captain and Minister of Public Enterprises Dawie de Villiers. De Klerk openly came out in support of De Villiers after the latter—then minister of trade and industry—was fired by Botha during his cabinet reshuffle in 1986. In the end De Villiers' honour was saved when he was granted a junior position as minister in the all-white House of Assembly.

When Chris Heunis took on De Klerk in the leadership stakes after Botha's resignation as state president, it was

De Villiers, then the NP's Cape leader, who swung the scale in De Klerk's favour by swinging his 26 supporters behind the Transvaal man.

Although losing support in the Cape in favour of NP strongman Hernus Kriel, De Villiers is still very close to De Klerk. De Klerk is not close to Kriel or Kobie Coetsee, another hardliner, but takes them seriously because of the party support they command.

According to observers, De Klerk's confidants in parliament can be divided into whisky pals and those whose advice he takes seriously.

The former group include Minister of State Spending Amie Venter, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok and Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer. Venter, the MP for Klerksdorp, is a Doppe, a fellow lawyer and, during their student days, a former roommate of De Klerk's. Not regarded as a political animal in any sense of the word, Venter is the kind of person with whom De Klerk will spend his evening over a drink, discussing issues that bother him.

Contrary to public perceptions, the disgraced Vlok is still a whisky pal. His friendship with De Klerk dates back to the days when they used to work together, he as a bailiff and De Klerk as a lawyer.

Former minister Gerrit Viljoen plays the role of a wise old "uncle" to the president.

Others in the cabinet with a close ear to De Klerk include Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. The state president's relationship with Meyer, also a lawyer, has recently cooled, mainly because of enormous resistance in the NP to what is regarded as Meyer's "close" links with the ANC.

Rumours in parliament have it that Meyer's deputy, the conservative Fanus Schoeman, was appointed to "keep an eye" on him.

Labour Relations Minister Leon Wessels is another close confidant who has recently alienated himself from De Klerk, especially after seeming to take the Congress of South African Trade Unions' side against farmers earlier this year in a conflict over farmworker rights. In the end, De Klerk personally interfered in the matter, forcing Wessels to back down.

Whisky pals outside of parliament who have a strong influence on De Klerk include economist Mof Terreblanche, brother of maverick Stellenbosch professor Sampie Terreblanche. While Sampie Terreblanche has completely broken away from the NP, his brother is a family friend and golf partner of De Klerk's who is known to "open doors" for him to the Afrikaans business community.

Other names that are mentioned in this category are Rembrandt's Gys Steyn and "Dik" David de Villiers, a prominent Stellenbosch resident and member of the Broederbond.

De Klerk's dominee in Cape Town is also known to have close contact with the state president. Pieter Bingle, like De Klerk, is a prominent member of the Broederbond.

And then there is brother Willem de Klerk, formerly also a senior Broeder and editor of the Afrikaans Sunday paper *RAPPORT*. Presently professor of journalism at RAU older brother Willem became a slight embarrassment to the president after his flirtation with the Democratic Party in the late 1980s. But the two still meet.

On a more professional level, the deft MP for Springs and NP information boss, Piet Coetzer, has influenced his leader's public performances. Coetzer, previously a journalist at the *TRANSVALER*, is a shrewd propagandist and the man behind efforts to change the NP's public image.

All indications are, however, that the real "man behind the throne" is someone who shies away from the public eye. When Neil Barnard, former head of NIS, was appointed director general of the Department of Constitutional Development recently, many people thought that he was demoted as part of a "purge" of the security forces.

Political observers believe that this was a promotion for Barnard, bringing him with his inside knowledge of government's adversaries closer to the heart of the constitutional debate.

It is no coincidence that Dr Bertus de Villiers, head of the HSRC's centre for constitutional analysis, is suddenly such a figure in the constitutional debate. The highly energetic De Villiers, apart from being president of the Ruiterswag, the junior version of the Broederbond, is also a former employee of Constitutional Development.

In the final analysis, however, there is one person who probably exerts more influence than anyone else on the president—his wife, Marike. Described by one parliamentarian as "n tawwe antie" (a tough aunt), Marike de Klerk is regarded as perceptive and skillful. It is known that the couple are very close to each other and that F.W. takes what his wife says seriously.

But then, as one political commentator observes, De Klerk has also grown into the role of leader of state. "Three years ago he listened while you talked. Now he talks and you listen."

13 April Review of Press Editorials, Commentaries

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[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Call To Accept Public Mourning of Hani—Everyone, "whatever political views they hold," must accept that South African Communist Party (SACP) General Secretary Chris Hani "should be and will be mourned in

public," notes a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English on 13 April. The loss felt by his supporters "must be respected." At the same time the organizers of memorial services "need to make greater efforts than ever before to ensure that outbreaks of violence are avoided, lest they spin out of control....Indications from the top echelons of the ANC [African National Congress] are that lunch-time services in Hani's memory will be held tomorrow, and the funeral will take place at a later date. This seems sensible, and appropriate; hopefully Natal firebrand Harry Gwala's wild calls for protracted national strikes and the like will come to nought. We must also take care not to link, unthinkingly, every new report of violence in the country to the Hani tragedy."

BUSINESS DAY

Need To Contain 'Rising Black Anger'—"Containing rising black anger" in the wake of the assassination of Chris Hani will "depend on Hani's friends and his political opponents and the appreciation by the authorities that their every move is being watched," points out Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English on 13 April in a page 6 editorial. "The ANC leadership moved swiftly on Saturday [10 April] to head off immediate violence, particularly by the militant township youths over whom they have influence but not control....There has mercifully been no gloating by the far right; the response across the political spectrum has been shock at the assassination and renewed calls for political differences to be settled by negotiation, not violence." The truth about the killing "will have to be proved to a sceptical multitude. If it was a conspiracy, the names must be known and additional charges preferred; if not, the lack of evidence must be demonstrated by a search thorough enough to persuade the doubters. The involvement of an international police element in the investigation may be essential." *BUSINESS DAY* also urges employers to be "understanding about stayaways," and urges the security forces to "exercise the utmost restraint at marches and demonstrations."

SOWETAN

Praise for ANC, SACP Restraint Following Hani Killing—Johannesburg *SOWETAN* in English on 13 April in a page 6 editorial says both the ANC and the SACP have shown "extraordinary restraint by pleading for calm" following the assassination of SACP General Secretary Chris Hani. "There is no doubt that some tempers will be short as emotions rise with the enormity of this dastardly act taking effect. All political leaders have to be even more careful in these fragile times. There are misfits from the entire political spectrum and racial divide who will act in such extreme ways."

Angola**Government, UNITA Begin Talks in Abidjan****Anstee Opens Meeting**

MB1304051693 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Talks between the Angolan Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] have already begun in Abidjan. Here is a report from correspondent Pedro Manuel:

[Begin recording] [Manuel] The talks between the government and UNITA began at about 1800 [1700 GMT]. Margaret Anstee was the first to talk. She thanked the delegations for being present and called for understanding. She then delivered a message from UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali.

In his message, Butrus-Ghali said he hoped the government and UNITA would commit themselves to searching for a peaceful solution to the Angolan dispute, adding that the Angolan people deserve a calm and stable society where differences can be settled by peaceful means instead of military confrontation. Butrus-Ghali said that he paid special attention to the meeting, the successful outcome of which would make him ask the UN Security Council to recommend a continued UN presence in Angola.

Faustino Muteka, head of the government delegation, said that Angola is tired of war and that his delegation was willing to discuss everything about peace.

Mr. Jorge Valentim, head of the UNITA delegation, went as far as to say that [words indistinct] the Angolan crisis.

Afterward, there was a plenary session between Ms. Margaret Anstee and the two delegations. The observers were represented by Mr. Jeffrey Davidow and [words indistinct].

Speaking to reporters after the meeting, Ms. Margaret Anstee said:

[Anstee] I would like to inform you that the opening session was addressed by the Ivorian foreign minister on behalf of the host government. I read a special message from the UN secretary general. Afterward, Mr. Faustino Muteka spoke as head of the Angolan Government delegation, and Dr. Valentim as head of the UNITA delegation. That was the formal opening.

After a break we had our first working session, during which we approved a nine-point agenda, namely: The cease-fire; fulfillment of the Bicesse Accord; national reconciliation; UNITA's participation in the government at the central, provincial, and local levels; the role of the UN Angola Verification Mission-2; release of all prisoners and detainees through the Red Cross; creation

of suitable conditions to permit emergency humanitarian assistance to all Angolans; definition of [words indistinct] powers; guarantees for people and property; and freedom of [words indistinct].

[Reporter] Would you like to comment on the point on the fulfillment of the Bicesse Accord? What does that mean?

[Anstee] Let us see [words indistinct] I think that the honorable journalists are aware of the contents of that accord.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct]

[Anstee] Tomorrow morning. [end recording]

[Paris AFP in French at 1854 GMT on 12 April in an Abidjan date-lined item adds the following: "The Angolan peace talks which opened this afternoon in Abidjan were suspended at 1830 after delegates approved a nine-item agenda submitted by Mrs. Margaret Anstee, UN special representative to Angola, who chaired the meeting. The talks will resume tomorrow at 1030, according to information gathered on the spot by AFP.

["The nine items are: implementation of a cease-fire; compliance with the May 1991 Bicesse accords; national reconciliation to enable a broader participation of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, an armed opposition movement, at all levels—national, provincial, and local; drawing up of principles of an interim government; supervision of peace process by the UN; freeing of all prisoners of war; creation of conditions necessary for humanitarian relief operations; guarantees for safety of people; and guarantee of press freedom."]

Government Outlines Issues

MB1204201993 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] The following is a declaration issued by the government of the republic on the occasion of the talks between the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]:

The Government of the Republic of Angola is pleased with the beginning of the talks between the government and UNITA delegations in Abidjan on 12 April 1993 aimed at resuming the peace process and national reconciliation. The meeting that was scheduled to take place in Addis Ababa did not materialize because of UNITA's unjustified absence from the negotiating table. This led to a considerable aggravation of the already difficult situation caused by the war that UNITA launched throughout the country after it refused to accept the results of the free and fair elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992.

The Government of the Republic of Angola regards as a matter of priority the immediate reestablishment of the

cease-fire agreed to on 31 May 1991 in order to create the necessary conditions that may permit the general and urgent aid and humanitarian assistance to all the affected people wherever they might be and who are suffering from wounds, famine, diseases and lack of basic care. Accordingly, the government believes that in order for the cease-fire to be effective, the terms of what has already been agreed on in Bicesse should be adhered to scrupulously, namely the confinement and disarming of troops and their demobilization and reintegration into the single national army under the strict control and verification of the UN Angola Verification Mission-2. In terms of the accords that have been freely signed, the free movement of people and goods should be permitted, and the effective reinstatement of the state central administration should be extended nationwide.

In that context, the delicate issue of the prisoners of war cannot be linked to subterfuges that in the past have prevented the release of large number of people who are held captive in many parts of the country.

The Government of the Republic of Angola is not opposed to the discussion of other issues that could lead to the establishment of peace and that are based on the recognition of the validity and timeliness of the Bicesse Accords and the election results. The government believes that political conditions have been established in the country for any political party to freely express, through democratic institutions, its viewpoints on the most burning national issues without the need to resort to violence and war. The Government of the Republic of Angola reiterates its hope in a negotiated and peaceful solution to the current conflict that is tearing the country apart and is pitting brother against brother. Moreover, the government remains loyal to the principles that made it deserve the trust of the majority of the Angolan electorate, namely the defense of sovereignty, freedom, protection of democratic institutions, and Angola's territorial integrity from Cabinda to Cunene. [Signed] The Government of the Republic of Angola, Luanda, 12 April 1993

Valentim Speaks at Talks

MB1304081393 *Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 13 Apr 93*

[Excerpts] UN-sponsored direct negotiations between the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party kicked off in Abidjan, the capital of Cote d'Ivoire, yesterday. [passage omitted]

Speaking during yesterday's official ceremony, Dr. Jorge Alicerces Valentim, UNITA information minister and head of its delegation to the peace talks, said that UNITA wants constructive dialogue which will convince the Angolan people that peace will definitely be back on track with the suspension of hostilities throughout the country.

[Begin Valentim recording] The universal history gives us an opportunity today to hold a serious and profound debate in search of a just and lasting peace in Angola. It is imperative that the two sides, the government and UNITA, should take this opportunity to present realistic solutions—no matter how modest—that can give us hope, a sense of security, and a light at the end of the tunnel for the advancement of the Angolan people.

We in UNITA have come to this round of negotiations to give a practical and realistic contribution for the benefit of all the Angolan people. We have come here for a serious and democratic debate. We have come here to make known our most profound feelings in the interest of a genuine and lasting peace in our beloved fatherland, Angola. [end recording]

Ivorian Foreign Minister Speaks

AB1204214093 *Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French 1900 GMT 12 Apr 93*

[Excerpts] The Angolan peace talks opened this afternoon at the Hotel Ivoire under UN auspices. At the opening ceremony, Ivorian Foreign Minister Amara Essy reminded the participants of the principles of the country hosting these talks. Cote d'Ivoire, he said, is a country of peace in which all differences among men are resolved through dialogue and negotiations, to the exclusion of the use of all forms of force. The Ivorian foreign minister stressed that peace is the second religion in Cote d'Ivoire and dialogue the preferred weapon. This explains why Ivorians will be glad to see their Angolan brothers use dialogue today in the conscious search for peace. Concluding, Minister Essy stated that the situation in Angola is a matter of concern to the entire African continent.

[Begin Essy recording] Peace on the continent is closely linked with peace in each of our countries. Consequently, the situation in Angola affects all the southern African countries and—for that matter—all African states which undertook in 1991 in Abuja to build the African Economic Community. Africa, more than any other continent, needs peace for its harmonious development.

Of course, the elder statesman [President Houphouet-Boigny] is not taking part in this meeting. But as you know, depending on the stand of your leaders at the highest level, he remains prepared—as he has always been—to offer you advice and to put at your disposal his vast experience in the area of peaceful resolution of conflicts, a role he has always played in Africa and beyond and in recognition of which UNESCO instituted at its 25th session an international award in his honor aimed at promoting the cause of peace in the world. It will be his greatest joy to contribute to the restoration of peace in Angola.

According to his concept, it should be a peace in justice, tolerance, brotherly friendship, and renewed love among all the sons and daughters of Angola. In the context of

such peace among the courageous, there should neither be winners nor losers. The Angolan people alone will be the sole beneficiaries. The prospects of peace in Angola have never been brighter than now. It therefore behooves us all, each at their respective level, to do their utmost to translate this prospect into reality. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Mr. Faustino Muteka, head of the Luanda government delegation, and Mr. Alicerces Valentim, head of the UNITA delegation, both expressed their desire to arrive at peace in their country. [passage omitted]

Valentim Interviewed on Peace Talks

MB1204161293 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Telephone interview with Jorge Valentim, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, information secretary and head of team to the Abidjan peace talks, in Abidjan by BBC reporter Robin White on the "Focus on Africa" program—recorded; first paragraph is studio introduction]

[Text] The second round of Angolan peace talks in Abidjan should now be under way tonight chaired by United Nations Representative Margaret Anstee, but even before the start there was a hitch, and once again the fault appears to lie with UNITA. Their team failed to show up at all for the last meeting, and today they finally arrived at lunch time, hours later than scheduled. The MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] delegation has been there since yesterday. On the line to Abidjan, Robin White asked the head of the UNITA delegation, Jorge Valentim, what caused the delay.

[Valentim] We planned to arrive today. We arrived on time and there was no problem in our traveling and we will be there on the opening ceremony this afternoon.

[White] Why does everybody else think you are late?

[Valentim] Well, maybe they like us very much. They expected to see us yesterday or before yesterday, but our plan was to arrive today. We did it. Very well. Everything will go normally.

[White] What hopes do you hold for this meeting?

[Valentim] Positive hopes. We brought very practical proposals (on) the cessation of hostilities in order to allow the distribution of humanitarian aid to all Angolans without any political, ethnic, or racial discrimination.

[White] But are you ready yourselves for an immediate cease-fire?

[Valentim] Well, cease-fire is something that...[changes thought] We don't want to declare a cease-fire. Those things are just declared to satisfy a few members of the press and afterward no one will follow up. What we want

is something serious. This is why we are proposing the cessation of hostilities. It is a very practical [word indistinct] at the same time also distribution of humanitarian aid by humanitarian organizations can be done. Liberation of prisoners can be done and all the people in Angola will take us seriously. They will say that these people really they mean business when they talk about peace in Angola. This is what we want.

[White] But is there fighting still going on now? I notice, for instance, there has been an attack claimed by you on Cabinda this morning.

[Valentim] Well, it is natural that there is fighting. This is why we come here in order to stop the hostilities.

Government-UNITA Clashes Continue

UNITA Attacking Cuito, Menongue

LD1204215793 Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese to Europe 2100 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] According to military sources in Luanda, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] is trying to take Cuito and Menongue, so as to strengthen its negotiating position in Abidjan.

In the last few days the military situation in Angola has changed considerably, with UNITA soldiers increasing their attacks against government positions. According to the spokesman for the Angolan Armed Forces, the cities of Cuito and Menongue are worst affected. In Cuito the fighting has not stopped for two days, and it is feared that the city could turn into a new Huambo, with UNITA capturing it.

According to Brigadier Jota, today UNITA attacked a plane at Malongue, a TAAG [Angolan state airline] plane carrying humanitarian aid for that city. Brigadier Jota blamed this increased violence by UNITA on an attempt to strengthen its position in Abidjan.

[Begin Jota recording] UNITA, as always, wants to sit at the negotiating table with a stronger position, with military gains—hence its increased military activity. We are at the point at which the government and UNITA are about to talk. [end recording]

UNITA Claims Successes in Luena, Bie

MB1104125393 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 11 Apr 93

[Text] The war in the city of Luena: The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola's [UNITA] green berets, who were attacked by Eduardo dos Santos' troops in Camanongue last week, retaliated violently at dawn today. The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] are currently occupying and fighting inside that city where they have already inflicted 150 casualties among government troops. Our correspondent reports from the war front:

[Begin reporter recording] As we speak to you, the city of Luena is under intense fire by FALA. Since 0036 [0136 GMT] today, the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA]-Riot Police alliance and Cuban and Spanish mercenaries, as well as forces of other nationalities have been subjected to intense fire by the glorious FALA. By 0830, our gallant forces had destroyed four arms depots, 14 T-55 tanks, five BMP-1 assault vehicles, 11 B-30 recoilless guns, three 23-mm anti-aircraft guns, one 14.5-mm machine guns, 100 assorted weapons, and three military vehicles. Our forces also captured two [words indistinct], three Racal radios and two pistols. [end recording]

Meanwhile, fierce clashes are still taking place for the control of the highlands city of Bie. A Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] air force plane flying from Luanda tried to parachute provisions for the beleaguered troops, but to no avail. Our correspondent Jardim Prata has the details:

[Begin Prata recording] At about 1600 on 10 April, an MPLA Hercules C-130 flying from Luanda dropped eight parachutes over an area of the city controlled by FALA. The aircraft intended to supply government troops confined to the palace. The pallets were loaded with bombs, ammunition, foodstuffs, and medicines.

Yesterday, violent clashes took place inside the city of Bie between FALA and a joint FAPLA-Riot Police tactical group as the latter attempted to attack UNITA's defense lines. FALA killed five ninjas [riot policemen] and captured five small weapons. [end recording]

More Government Casualties in Luena

MB1204201093 *Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo*
Negro in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] [Words indistinct] clashes continue to occur inside Luena, the capital of Moxico Province [words indistinct] People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] forces are backed by mercenaries [words indistinct] Eduardo dos Santos.

Our correspondent in the Luena theater of war reports that, after yesterday's clashes, this morning the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] killed 50 FAPLA and Riot Police soldiers, along with three Cuban instructors. Together with the 150 Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] soldiers killed yesterday, the MPLA-PT has suffered 203 soldiers killed since yesterday. Our forces, which had destroyed 14 T-55 tanks yesterday, destroyed another two today. Yesterday, the FALA forces destroyed four depots of assorted war materiel. Today, they destroyed another one to bring the total up to five. Our forces also destroyed two BMP-1 armored [words indistinct] also today, our forces [word indistinct] a subterranean fuel reservoir at the installations of the National Angolan Fuel Company.

Our correspondent reports that, in another development, our forces (?also destroyed) two BMP-1 armored cars in Camenongue, near Luena [words indistinct] activated land mines.

Northwestern Cabinda Province is now without a governor. The provincial governor has fled to Luanda. This happened when FALA forces victoriously entered the (?capital of) Cabinda Province and [words indistinct] military. The FALA forces turned their fire against those points where mercenaries were being treated after coming from Soyo. Our forces also destroyed the Riot Police headquarters, commonly known as Radio Patrol [Radio Patrulha], one Riot Police vehicle, the provincial commissar's office, the local branch of the People's Television of Angola, and other military targets. Lieutenant General Jose Pedro, military commander for the Cabinda Military Zone, and Colonel Mario Ingles, General Staff chief for the Cabinda Military Zone, have also fled. The FALA military command for Cabinda Province reported today that the attack lasted 30 minutes.

Fierce clashes are now taking place near Waku Kungo and Ebo Districts, as well as (Cambe) commune, in Cuanza Sul Province, where an MPLA-PT offensive is currently under way. The FALA forces have been fighting courageously on all those fronts and the MPLA-PT army has been suffering major defeats. Our forces have already captured Major (Filipe Junho), the second in command in the aforesaid offensive. (?On 8 April), a FAPLA unit was flown and deployed some 23 km from the city of Waku Kungo with the aim of destroying the bridge on the (?Ucosso) River, along the Waku Kungo-Huambo route. Those forces managed nothing other than to flee in disarray and the FALA forces are in complete control of that bridge.

(Catunga Canguela), our correspondent in that theater of war, reports the MPLA-PT air force continues to take innocent civilian lives with its bombs.

47 MPLA Soldiers Killed in Menongue

MB1004201793 *Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo*
Negro in Portuguese 1900 GMT 10 Apr 93

[Text] The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] troops have suffered yet another reverse in Menongue, the capital of Cuando Cubango Province. At midday today, the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] troops intercepted a group of MPLA-PT soldiers trying to attack and occupy the area of (Luzumbe), a Quebe River tributary, only a few kilometers from Menongue.

The clash occurred at about 1330. Eduardo dos Santos' forces are confirmed to have left 47 corpses on the ground. Those soldiers had been serving in the 3rd Battalion, stationed in Menongue.

Fervor do Povo, the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockrel correspondent in the Menongue theater of war, reports the FALA forces captured large quantities of war

materiel, including a B-10 cannon, one 82-mm mortar, one PKM submachine gun, one RPK submachine gun, and 15 AK-47 rifles.

On 8 April, a Riot Police unit was put to flight in that area. On that occasion, four MPLA-PT men were put out of action. Two heavy weapons and three light weapons were captured by the FALA forces.

Finance Minister Speaks to National Assembly

MB0904202493 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Report on Finance Minister Emanuel Carneiro's budget speech to the National Assembly in Luanda on 8 April—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Finance Minister Emanuel Carneiro disclosed yesterday that Angola's budget deficit tripled last year due to unplanned spending. Presenting the 1993 emergency and government programs to the National Assembly yesterday, he said the increased deficit had forced a monetary injection resulting in inflation running at 500 percent.

[Carneiro] "Together with an already high unemployment rate at the time—toward the end of last year—that inflation and the onset of war further aggravated the people's standards of living. Thus, if the situation was already bad before war broke out, it became even worse with its outbreak. The country's financial situation became extremely complex."

[Announcer] Finance Minister Carneiro also noted this problem could be reduced once people and goods move about freely in diamond-rich Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul Provinces. Despite illegal mining, they are powerful sources of income to the country.

[Carneiro] "Cutting the route to Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul Provinces also contributed in a major way toward this country's rising inflation rate. We all remember that illegal mining yielded high foreign currency revenue, which comfortably complemented the country's foreign exchange reserves. Once the Lunda Provinces Corridor were cut off, that revenue accessibility collapsed and helped trigger the parallel market's high foreign exchange rates. We believe that once the situation in that corridor returns to normal we will be able to achieve our aim of reinforcing the foreign exchange reserve fund, the only one the state effectively controls. In turn, that will allow us to apply far more effective inflation control measures."

[Announcer] Minister Emanuel Carneiro said the government's budget rests on two principal elements: national defense and guaranteeing the most painless possible standard of living for the people.

[Carneiro] "Because it is aware of this problem, the National Assembly has instructed the government to draw up an emergency program which ultimately rests

on two principal goals: the country's resistance in the face of war, with the basic aim of allowing us to continue existing—to that end, we must continue our resistance—and, second, to reduce as much as possible the harshness of our people's living conditions."

* Training of 'Ninja' Police Described

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 23 Jan 93 pp 20-21

[Article by Benjamim Formigo: "Ninja Training"]

[Text] They were in the front line in the war against the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. They are elite units formed according to the structure of special forces. These are the "ninjas," whose uniforms are almost as dark as their skins, men of few words and of military efficiency who, in less than a year, have become an Angolan myth, thanks to UNITA propaganda.

The first mention of the "ninjas" came long before the end of the war. A shortage of foodstuffs was beginning to appear in the city, and the Luandan "mujumbo" [?UNITA sympathizer] speculated about the acquisition, in Spain, of material for the shock police. The first version was that the government, fearing riots, was creating a police force to maintain public order. The riots did not come and the matter was forgotten.

After May 1991, however, with the peace accords in Estoril, street demonstrations became common in the capital: first the demonstrations by the big parties, then the marches arranged by people with fewer means.

No one knows for sure when these men first appeared in the streets, with their dark blue uniforms, their berets, frequently wearing dark glasses, sometimes armed with a simple baton, men who did not say a word. Shoulder to shoulder, they formed security cordons, using their batons to demarcate the forbidden zones.

Their appearance in force, wearing white caps with visors and bullet-proof vests, seems to have occurred during the visit of Pope John Paul II to Angola.

Their imposing size, usually much above the 1.7-meter height required for enlistment, their silence, refusing any dialogue or even a simple exchange of words with the public, as well as their efficient air, earned them the nickname of "ninjas." Even before then, they were the topic of the widest variety of rumors. Many people were saying: "They are not Angolans"; others maintained that "they do not speak Portuguese." Still others, remembering the days when defense of the perimeter of Luanda was turned over to the Cuanhamas, declared, with total conviction: "They are Cuanhamas; the government sent for them from Cunene because they are the UNITA's worst enemies."

Even today, stories are told of the time when the giants of the south guarded the entry to Luanda. "There is no war in Cuanhama territory," the village chiefs of the

south said in colonial times. And the fact is that during the colonial war, the territory of Cunene was always respected. Following independence, South African troops broke through above Cunene, by roads that carried them almost to the gates of Luanda.

Onjiva today is nothing more than a mountain of rubble. There is not a single house standing and even the small local church is almost destroyed. The small partners of the Cuanhamas who lived together with them in Cunene—the "bosquimanos" [bushmen], excellent marksmen who were often employed as such by the Portuguese Army—disappeared for years and today there seem to be very few of them. In Onjiva, in December 1985, some "bosquimanos" were wandering through the city, although they did not live there, as two of them explained to us, seemingly indifferent to our approach. The rest hid themselves as soon as they saw the cars in which we were riding.

In Luanda, people tell the strangest tales about these soldiers from the south. Expressing themselves poorly in Portuguese, the soldiers spoke very quickly and became impatient when they were not making themselves understood. Instead of instructing them to request to see documents, their superior officers told them that, to enter or leave the city, the people had to present a "piece of paper with a photo." On arriving at the checkpoint, drivers were stopped by a huge soldier who told them imperiously, in the most garbled Portuguese: "You showing paperi with picture!" and if the citizen did not comply or talked back, the Cuanhama reacted immediately: "Sobi za na quintare do zipe!" ["You, going up in back yard of jeep, now!"] Some of the stories may have been exaggerated, but none of them is told in a deprecatory tone; they are just that: stories, among the many that the Angolans tell, except that the tellers of these stories do not hide their admiration and fear of these huge hunters from the south, who speak in rapid-fire bursts and who can sit for endless hours on their haunches, their eyes gazing into infinity.

Those times gave us the expression: "Sobe na quintal do jipe" ["Climb up in the back yard of the jeep"], i.e., into the open back of the jeep or of any other vehicle. They also gave us the legend of Cuanhama valor.

From there it was only a step to say that the "ninjas" were Cuanhamas.

In the end, the truth is much simpler. "The men do not talk when they are on duty because, when they talk, they are distracted. They cannot talk to any one or enter into a conversation with the public," explained Superintendent Simao Tomas Queta, aged 36, commander of the training center for the "ninjas."

We were talking in the middle of the Training Center of this police force. Simao Queta, walkie-talkie in hand, was giving orders about the exercise that a company of "ninjas" was conducting. "If the men start talking with the demonstrators, there is the risk that they might start

asking themselves questions about their mission—a mission that could hardly be considered lovable." The superintendent comes from the Special Forces; he entered the Armed Forces in 1974 and later enlisted, as a volunteer, in the "commandos." He was one of the first instructors to be sent to Spain for training as an anti-riot policeman. "I was in Madrid and in Guadarama and then I received practical training in Guadalajara," where the first four groups of 15 instructors were sent and from which a fifth group has recently returned.

To be a "ninja," "one must be at least 18 years old, 1.7 meters in height, have a good physical appearance and good civic comportment," Simao Queta continued. As happens with all military trainees, even "ninjas," our presence was enough to "alleviate" the pressure of the training. Within minutes we were surrounded by a group that had been waiting to begin the training period. Simao Queta looked around him; the lack of discipline displeased him and, with a simple sentence, of the highly expressive kind typical of military officers all over the world, he sent the curiosity seekers away.

Over the TPA [People's Television of Angola], immediately following the evening news, there are announcements offering places in the police to all young men over 18 years of age and to the "demobilized." However, at this training camp on the road to Viana, some 20 km from Luanda, the men already know what war is like. To play at being policemen is something new. The appearance and behavior of the men revealed their origins. Uniform pants tucked into the boots, broad canvas belts, very neat T-shirts: these are characteristic of the "commandos," where many of them have come from. The training and practice they have had as members of an elite military corps is now coupled with a knowledge about urban guerrilla warfare and crowd control. They also learn how to raid houses where "suspects" are hiding.

The "mini-Uzis" that they handle are new to these young men, who are accustomed, as the Army man said, "to the comfort of the AK-47 (Kalashnikov)." Also new are the techniques in the use of the rubber truncheon or electric baton, "a weapon that is only to be used when there is violence," the superintendent explained.

A wave of ragamuffins had occupied a piece of ground and was shouting slogans against a management entity that was not paying their wages—"We want our money!" Like all labor movements, this one at the training center for the "ninjas" had its leaders. These were the "agitators," in police jargon, whom "the ninjas" must be able to pick out in the crowd so they can arrest them and rob the demonstration of its leadership," our host continued. Meanwhile, the crowd was getting more and more raucous. In the distance, the sirens of four vehicles could be heard. The cars stopped suddenly. The "ninjas" leapt out and quickly formed a line two ranks deep, facing the "demonstrators." The men performing the intervention were trainees and the "demonstrators" were men who had already completed or were close to completing their

training. The two groups faced each other for several moments. Some of the demonstrators picked up some stones to throw at the police, which is the fashion on these occasions. Some of them, knowing that they were facing a gang of their comrades, picked up tiny stones that could barely shatter a drinking glass at 10 meters. "Such a small stone?" we asked one of them. "So as not to hurt anyone," he replied. Beside him, a comrade in arms, determined to make the training more realistic, picked up a respectable rock.

The orders for the two sides were clear: only throw stones up in the air and do not set off anything but smoke grenades. A trainee spoke through a bull horn: "Demonstrators, this demonstration is not authorized. Please disband."

Suddenly, the confrontation between the "proletarians" and the police began, with the advantage inevitably going to the police. Beside us, Simao Queta bawled out to the company commander who was leading the intervention: "I already told you not to use tear gas!" When the exercise was over, one of the policemen went to the infirmary with a stone in his leg, but the tear gas did not poison anyone. This was followed by an exercise to protect an authorized "demo" [demonstration] and, finally, by a raid on a "neighborhood filled with ruffians."

In Ndalatando, during the election campaign, a group of 60 "ninjas" provided the security for President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. "We are here as reinforcements for the local police. They are not trained. If some gang shows up and kicks them, they run. Not us! No one would dare!" stressed a commander. And there, for the first time, a slogan was heard that was truly surrealistic for a demonstration: "We want the police!"—a slogan that would be repeated many times during the election campaign, making Angola probably the first country in the world where demonstrators demanded that the state create more policemen. The fact is, however, that given the state of insecurity that the cities were experiencing following the end of the war, the presence of the "ninjas" and the strengthened police patrols were welcomed by the people.

From the beginning, the government and the UNITA had diametrically opposed views regarding the forces for order. The UNITA delayed handing over its men and maintained control over the troops that had been transferred from the FALA [the UNITA's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] into the Armed Forces of Angola. The government certainly also maintained a reserve of men, but it demobilized many of its special troops and then put them on the police force.

Thus, even with the control and verification of UNIVEM II (United Nations Mission for Angola), as demanded by the UNITA in the Estoril Accords, the police became the privileged force of the government for the maintenance of order, as well as a reserve force if—as it came about—the process went awry. From the outset,

the UNITA had a deep disdain for the police, to which the police commandos responded with an equally strong antipathy. Incidentally, this was acknowledged by Vice Minister "Nando" during a meeting of the CCPM (Joint Political-Military Commission).

According to the Estoril Accords, the UNITA would not only name its representative to the Commission for Verification of the Neutrality of the Police, but would also have the right to assign a certain number of men to the police force. Then Colonel Madaleno Tadeo, who was appointed to the commission by Jonas Savimbi, was absent for the first few months, thus paralyzing the verification process and hence the work of the police force itself.

Sources close to the CCPM observers explained to us at the time that the absence of Colonel Tadeo was due to the shortage of UNITA cadres in the capital, which forced Tadeo to take on a multitude of tasks for his movement, from providing for the security of the UNITA mission in the CCPM to preparing for Jonas Savimbi's arrival in Luanda and making the respective security arrangements. For their part, in this first phase, the police kept a low profile, to "avoid accusations. Even so, we were accused of attacking UNITA members every time an antibandit operation led to the death of anyone," commented a police source.

Meanwhile, the "ninjas" were growing and small units were showing up here and there, in operations in the "muqueques" [poor neighborhoods on the outskirts of Luanda] to "recover weapons" or to arrest delinquents, actions which were a part of their training.

The fact is that the Mozambican police were gradually changing and other, much younger men were appearing alongside the unskilled and often inebriated men patrolling the streets. Along with this change, which diplomatic sources said had to do with the introduction of units of the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] into the police (a statement that has not been confirmed by official sources), other groups of men from the special forces were being turned into "ninjas."

In contrast to the attention that the government paid to the police, the UNITA never made any great effort to assign its own men and, when it did so, it assigned men who were not well trained, enabling the government to flunk most of them, allegedly for "lack of qualifications."

In the training, there is just one test that is feared by all the trainees: to put on a bullet-proof vest and stand in front of an instructor who shoots real bullets at you. "Many of the men even urinate. We have to put on the vest first and let them shoot at us so they will gain confidence," recalled one of the instructors.

On the eve of the elections, according to Queta, there were 1,500 trained "ninjas" and another 1,500 who had nearly completed their training. Today there are at least 6,000 of them. Their training also includes classes in

civics and law, and a period for the clarification of the constitutional limits of their activity. At the training center, some "ninja" candidates were walking around with little law books under their arm, but at that time the most popular book was a publication explaining the National Electoral Council.

It was the "psychological action" of the UNITA itself that gave the "ninjas" their reputation. Upon seeing the creation of an elite force in the police, from which it had excluded itself, the UNITA launched a propaganda attack against the "ninjas." In attacking the "ninjas," the UNITA ended by giving the idea—false or not—that it feared them. Today even the FALA troops themselves are afraid of the "ninjas"; in addition to all the propaganda about them, during the so-called battle of Luanda the "ninjas" demonstrated an operational capability much superior to that which would be expected of the police.

* Closer Ties to Israel, Cooler Arab Relations

93AF0466C Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese
6 Mar 93 p B1

[Report by Gustavo Costa: "Wagering on Israel"]

[Text] Now that the failure of Addis Ababa has frustrated the hope that peace in Angola may be quickly restored through dialogue, Luanda has apparently decided to turn to Israel, gambling that this will result in a significant strengthening of relations between the two countries. This follows the visit that General Antonio Franco Ndalu paid to Tel Aviv this week.

This trip by the former chief of the government delegation to the CCPM [Joint Political-Military Commission], leading a party of high-ranking military officers, could "open the way to a possible establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries." Meanwhile, Israeli specialists are already cooperating with the Angolan Air Force [FAA].

According to a source in the Defense Ministry, this cooperation is limited to the area of training, maintenance, and rehabilitation of the aeronautical equipment of the FAA; neither party intends the cooperation to cover any possible Israeli involvement in the Angolan conflict, particularly because General Joao de Matos, chief of staff of the FAA, assured that the conditions are being created so that the government will not have to resort to third countries [as published] to deal with war.

The government delegation that visited the Israeli capital was carrying a proposal to reestablish the bases of a broad plan for the rehabilitation of various equipment assigned to the Air Force and the infantry, a plan that had already been roughed out three years ago by the office of then Vice Minister of Defense Paulo Kassoma.

To this end, in the future, various military delegations could continue to travel very discreetly to Israel, and Luanda is not hiding its "satisfaction" with the quality of

the military cooperation achieved with Tel Aviv. In addition to the supply of some light military equipment and the participation of Israeli technicians in the rehabilitation of fighter planes, a diplomatic source said that Israel has made lines of credit available to Angola for the purchase of war materiel from third countries.

Luanda Breaking With Arab World

On the other hand, a source close to the presidency of the Republic assured that there is no alternative but to acknowledge "the realism of joining with Israel in cooperation capable of giving impetus to the development of Angola, no matter how much this displeases many of our old friends." Practically divorced from Libya, and maintaining a somewhat distant relationship with Tunisia, Angolan diplomacy, in its current love affair with Tel Aviv, is gradually drawing away from the Arab world, according to observers in Luanda.

The "coolness" with which the military authorities view the role of Butrus- Ghali, secretary general of the United Nations, and the plan to close the Angolan Embassy in Algeria are clear indications that Luanda is not dying of love for the Arab world.

A source in the office of Prime Minister Marcelino Moco said that Butrus- Ghali's "unclear position in the treatment of the two parties leads one to think he has still not forgiven us for our position on Camp David."

Meanwhile, the "affair" between Angola and Israel is far from limited to the military area. For some time Luanda has been granting concessions to various Israeli diamond lapidaries to open offices here for the marketing of precious stones. "There are such opportunities, in fact, but since the diamond bearing zones of Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul are occupied by the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], we are limited to almost nothing," confided an Israeli who had recently arrived in Luanda looking for business.

The system of home and business insurance could also be monopolized by the Israelis, who have already formed the first companies in this field, operating in Luanda.

For its part, the TAAG [Angolan Airlines] could form a joint venture with El-Al, which has already promised technical assistance for one of the Hercules of the Angolan transport line. In this regard, there are plans to expand cooperation with Israel in the near future in the area of maintenance and personnel training. Delegations from the National Bank of Angola have also gone to Tel Aviv to obtain credit which, according to a source in the Finance Ministry, has been used to cover expenses and is also meant to cover a broad plan for the reorganization of the FAA.

Moreover, following the debate in the parliament on the law of compulsory military service, which institutionalizes the creation of a national civil defense organization, the government should continue to increase purchases of

war materiel. Kundi Paghama, counselor to the chief of staff of the FAA, will be named vice minister for civil defense.

"After the failure of Addis Ababa, we are now in a more legitimate position to purchase arms from whomever we want," said a member of the office of the Defense Ministry. According to the official, Luanda has already ordered new helicopters from the CEI [Central European Initiative]

Malawi

Banda Sends Condolence Message to Mandela

MB1104194493 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 11 Apr 93

[Text] His Excellency the life president, Ngwazi [Paramount] Dr. Kamuzu Banda, has sent a message of condolences to the president of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela, following the assassination yesterday of Mr. Chris Hani, a member of the [words indistinct]. On the message, issued in the Malawi Congress Party National Headquarters in Lilongwe, the life president said [passage indistinct].

Mozambique

Dhlakama: Demobilization To Follow UN Presence

MB1004063993 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0400 GMT 10 Apr 93

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], has reiterated that he will only order the demobilization of his forces once there is an effective and complete deployment of UN troops in Mozambique. Speaking in the capital of Maringue District in Sofala Province yesterday, Dhlakama said that it would not make sense to demobilize his soldiers before an effective presence of UN forces, who will be responsible for the maintenance of security throughout the country.

Dhlakama stressed that he does not want a repetition of what happened in Angola where, according to him, the two warring factions rushed to elections without first considering issues related to the country's security. The Renamo leader added that to demobilize his forces before the complete deployment of UN contingent would amount to a violation of the General Peace Accord signed in Rome.

Chissano Calls for National Reconciliation at Easter

MB0904191893 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano has called for stronger national unity and development toward a more

fraternal and harmonious society. In a message of greetings to Christians at Easter, Chissano welcomed the fact that this time Easter is being celebrated in peace in Mozambique.

Meanwhile, the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] has reiterated its call for more solid peace, understanding, and reconciliation among the Mozambican family. In a message of peace to the Christian community at Easter, Frelimo has expressed its gratitude for the Christian community's work in promoting unity among Mozambicans and national reconstruction.

Chissano on Soldiers' Demonstrations in Maputo

MB1104183093 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 11 Apr 93

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano has said that some (?215 demobilized soldiers) who had participated in a demonstration at (Manguanine), in Maputo, where they presented their demands, are now in jail. In an interview with Mozambique Television, Joaquim Chissano said those demobilized soldiers are not prisoners. They are just in a safe place, waiting to be returned to their traditional areas.

[Begin Chissano recording] There has been a misunderstanding [words indistinct] were talking about salaries in arrears. Orders have been given for those arrears to be paid [words indistinct] it was not a matter of arrears, because they had already received their arrears. In (Manguanine), no salaries were in arrears and no retroactive pay was outstanding. Thus, it was an (?illegal) demand [words indistinct] and no soldier, or any other official, would have received a 23 percent increase. Then, a demand was put forward that 3 million meticals be paid to each soldier [words indistinct] this was also an illegal demand but [words indistinct] principle that the money had been made available in Rome in order to be distributed among the soldiers. That is false. No money has been made available in Rome to be distributed among the soldiers. [end recording]

Chissano Denies Ruling Party Financing TV Station

MB1104180393 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 11 Apr 93

[Text] Joaquim Chissano, chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Party, has denied reports that his party is financing RTK [Radio e Televisao Klint—Klint Radio and Television]. Mozambique's new privately owned television station.

In an interview with Mozambique State Television, Chissano [word indistinct] calm and controlled emotions [words indistinct] Carlos Pereira Klint used to create the first private television station in this country and among the five Lusophone African countries.

He stressed that the new television station does not enjoy financial backing from the Frelimo Party and added his

organization only grants moral support to RTK. Thus, Chissano quelled speculation that the ruling party is financing the country's first private television station. That speculation was fuelled by the fact that businessman Carlos Klint is a veteran of the national liberation struggle and Frelimo Party Central Committee member.

Renamo Withdraws From Chirisi in Tete Province

MB1104080893 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0400 GMT 11 Apr 93

[Text] The Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] withdrew a few days ago from Chirisi, a government-held region in Tete Province's Chiuta District, where it had remained for about two months in flagrant violation of the General Peace Accord. The withdrawal follows an agreement reached between the government and Afonso Dhlakama's movement.

First Botswana Contingent Arrives in Tete 9 April

MB1004113493 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0400 GMT 10 Apr 93

[Text] The first contingent of the Botswana battalion, consisting of 70 men, that will join the UN Operations in Mozambique, Unomoz, arrived in the city of Tete yesterday. Botswana is scheduled to send a 740-man battalion to Tete. The first contingent includes infantry troops and arrived in Tete by road.

*** UK Envisages Training New Armed Forces**

93AF0466A Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 1 Mar 93 p 14

[Article by E.M.: "Portuguese Limitations: British Doctrine for the New Mozambican Army"; first paragraph is DIARIO DE NOTICIAS introduction]

[Text] Great Britain will be training most of the soldiers of the new Mozambican Army. Because of a lack of funds and a shortage of instructors, Portugal has been given another role. The role of France remains to be seen.

The training camp at Nyanga, in Zimbabwe, will once again be used to train Mozambican troops. Located close to the border, near Mutare and Manica, the camp will receive the soldiers of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] and of the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] who will form the backbone of the command of the Army of the new unified Armed Forces of Mozambique (FAAM) and hundreds of other cadres.

Britain's responsibility also includes support for the training of companies on Mozambican soil, in a more advanced phase of the process of formation of the FAAM.

This means that the initial plan for Great Britain, to train at least 7,000 men (of a total of 42,000), could be substantially expanded at medium range.

There are indications that the Renamo, which until very recently had voiced reservations about such broad British involvement, could soon come to take a very different position.

The rounding up and, principally, the disarming of the Frelimo and Renamo troops and the training on solid foundations, of the new unified Armed Forces are conditions that the United Nations is insisting on for the conduct of elections in Mozambique.

As agreed in Rome, Portugal will coordinate the process of forming the FAAM.

Portugal will be responsible for training three battalions of special forces and a company of riflemen, a total of 2,000 men, and will have priority in the area of concepts, organization, and systems.

In Lisbon, it is said that the essence of the Armed Forces is in the systems (juridical, administrative, logistical, training, etc.). The coordination meeting held in Lisbon on 19 February allegedly served to articulate the various models, to avoid overlaps or conflicts.

However, no one can say how harmoniously soldiers trained according to a different doctrine can be integrated in systems based on a Portuguese philosophy.

Portugal will also support the reconstruction of facilities for the Nacala Training Center for Special Operations and Commands and the Practical School of Infantry and Military Administration.

It is, after all, a group of actions that had already been defined within the framework of the program of military cooperation with Mozambique. According to official statements, the program has not been expanded for lack of funds.

Meanwhile, there are indications that another factor has contributed to this scenario: the shortage of instructors, as a result of the reduction of military facilities and the entry into effect of a new system of military service.

The training of the FAAM will not be initiated until after the troops are rounded up in camps. Until then, the Portuguese "hard nucleus" will remain at the Alto do Duque Fort. The nucleus comprises Brigadier General Albuquerque Goncalves, Colonel Jorge Duque, Lieutenant Colonels Afonso Lourenco and Gloria Alves, and Majors Jose Varandas, Manuel Cardoso, Eliseu Morais, and Antonio Aguiar.

* French, Italian, British Cooperation Goals

93AF0466B Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese
27 Feb 93 p 28

[Commentary: "Mozambique: Portugal on a Tightrope"; first paragraph is SEMANARIO introduction]

[Text] The secretary for cooperation is going to Mozambique. The secretary of the treasury is going as well. If the visits fail, Portugal could lose two wars: the battle for the training of the Mozambican Armed Forces and the battle for television cooperation. French, English, and Italians are already on the alert.

Briosa e Gala, secretary of state for cooperation, is going to Maputo carrying two concerns in his baggage: the training of the Mozambican Armed Forces, a task assigned to Portugal, France, and Great Britain; and the cooperation accord established between the Portuguese and Mozambican Governments in 1987, regarding aid from the RTP [Portuguese Radio and Television] to Experimental Television of Mozambique (TVEM). This cooperation is hanging by a thread and the Italians are on the make, "lobbying" the Maputo government.

A lack of funds seems to be behind the cooling off of relations between the TVEM and the Portuguese Government. The RTP department of cooperation has not received a cent from the government since January 1992, and the project to build new TVEM studios in Maputo—along with most of the cooperation agreements signed in September 1989—is not moving forward within the established timetable. The Mozambicans are getting nervous, since, with the approach of the elections, it is becoming more and more urgent to have a nationwide television network.

Italians Create Lobby in Maputo

The public competition for construction of new TVEM studios in Maputo was set up about a year ago, but it has also been suspended for a year. The Portuguese investment project for the TVEM was first budgeted at 840,000 contos. Now it is about 1.2 million contos. The TVEM is contributing 160,000 contos.

Amandio de Oliveira, secretary of state for public communications, recently asked the RTP to perform some gymnastics to bring the investment program back in line—a reevaluation of the project that would take into account the lost time and the inflation in Africa.

While the Portuguese have been asleep at the switch, the Italians have begun "corralling" members of the Maputo government, and today there is already a powerful lobby, including some Mozambican ministers, wishing to see the Portuguese-Mozambican project dropped.

"We know that the Italians have a project for construction of the production center. They are exerting influence on the authorities. But the Mozambicans have worked actively on the Portuguese-Mozambican project,

which they now control." This is the trump card presented by RTP sources and it could ensure that Maputo will stay with the project, at least for the time being.

Meanwhile, the RTP department of cooperation, formerly the Directorate of Cooperation, when "cooperation" was the government's order of the day, has managed to set up the Beira transmitter. The work of setting up the Nampula transmitter will begin shortly. However, Mozambique is anxious to know when the Maputo production center, the most important part of the project, will get started. About two months ago, a Mozambican delegation led by TVEM director Antonio Botelho Moniz was in Portugal to find out how things were progressing and to alert the Portuguese Government to the risks that the project is running in Mozambique.

Botelho Moniz has met several times with Jacinto Veloso, Mozambican minister of cooperation, to arrange for the visit of the Portuguese secretary of state [for cooperation]. The expectations are high. The Mozambicans are interested in continuing the project with the Portuguese, but the Portuguese Government must loosen the purse strings. And, according to diplomatic sources, this is what Briosa e Gala will say the Portuguese Government is prepared to do.

English Plan Humiliating for Mozambique

The restructuring of the Mozambican Armed Forces is currently experiencing some problems similar to those of the Angolan Armed Forces when they were being formed. Portugal, France, and Great Britain are again in the same boat. The English, and also the French, are still insisting on a training plan that the Portuguese continue to reject, as they did in Angola. Portugal feels it is "dangerous" to have each country responsible for the training of a single branch of the Armed Forces. Once again, the English want to assume sole responsibility for the training of the Army, leaving the Navy and Air Force in Portugal's hands. The English plan is to train the Army at its bases in Zimbabwe, in the Nyanga region, an area of British influence. There they intend to train 50 military instructors in a first phase, and then another 120 instructors in a group in two subsequent phases. "This is humiliating for the Mozambicans. The English do not want to go to the effort of investing in bases inside Mozambique," a Portuguese military source told SEMANARIO.

Paris Wants Mozambican Navy

In Angola, the French always wanted the responsibility for the Air Force, because it had the training helicopters and planes. In Mozambique's case, however, France has a different preference. In Mozambique, the French are primarily concerned with the growing importance of Great Britain and they support the Portuguese position against the English plan.

Some observers warn, however, that this support may not be innocent. "The Paris government has a particular

interest in taking over the training of the Mozambican Navy" and hence sees no advantage in allowing Great Britain to push Portugal into an area in which France wants to deal the cards. The French interest may have something to do with France's ties to Madagascar and with the importance of the Djibouti naval base.

Portugal continues to gamble on training the three branches in conjunction, a doctrine for which it fought in Angola. "This is the only way to arrive at a force of national unity. Without unity as a doctrine, with France, Portugal, and Great Britain each handling a single military branch, we will be creating an army made for coups d'etat, like so many others in Africa," declared a Portuguese military officer who worked on the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces.

Namibia

Soldiers Guarding Hospitals Against UNITA Attack

MB1204203193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1943
GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Windhoek April 12 SAPA—Soldiers were sent on Monday [12 April] to guard two hospitals on Namibia's border with Angola after reports that the institutions were threatened with attack by the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebel forces. Police in Windhoek said the Engela and Odibo Hospitals were being guarded by the Namibian Defence Force after police asked for army assistance. Sources confirmed news reports that the threat came from UNITA.

Police could not confirm reports that the Oshakati Hospital also faced possible attack as Angola's civil war, which resumed in October when UNITA refused to accept the results of the country's elections, spilled over into Namibia.

The latest threat follows a series of border crossings by UNITA soldiers and acts of violence against Namibians living near the frontier. On Saturday, four armed and uniformed men demanded money from a Namibian man near the border, police said. The man managed to escape and alerted Namibian police and Angolan Government soldiers stationed at the nearby Oikokola border gate.

The armed men meanwhile held 21 Namibians hostage while they robbed a trading store of money and goods before kidnapping a boy from the Otolitokini village and moving to another trading store. Ten Angolan Government soldiers arrived and a shootout ensued, leaving one of the bandits dead. An AK47 assault rifle, a sjambok, knife and handgrenade, were found on the man's body.

The remaining three Angolans eluded the soldiers and forced a woman to take them to the border. She managed to escape unhurt at the border although shots were fired at her as she fled.

Earlier on Saturday, police reacting to reports of seven armed men roaming inside Namibia, found tracks leading back to Angola. Police said armed men had also crossed the border on March 2 and April 8 and assaulted and robbed villagers before fleeing.

There is no boundary fence along Namibia's northern border, which was demarcated in colonial times, separating families and cutting communities in two. In terms of an agreement between the Angolan and Namibian Governments, people from both sides within 21km of the border may cross at random.

Sources with close connections to Namibia's security forces, said there was no doubt the bandits were UNITA members.

Official Condemns Assassination of SACP's Hani

MB1004120593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1144
GMT 10 Apr 93

[Text] Windhoek April 10 SAPA—The assassination of South African Communist Party [SACP] General Secretary Chris Hani on Saturday [10 April] was a barbaric act deserving of total international condemnation, Namibian Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Netumbo Ndaitwah said. "The action is unacceptable and very unfortunate, especially since the people of South Africa are involved in a negotiation process. The problems and conflict in South Africa can be solved peacefully."

Ms Ndaitwah said that no matter what differences one had, there were other ways than assassination to solve them. She conveyed the condolences of the Namibian Government to Mr Hani's family and his "comrades in the African National Congress [ANC]."

"We know the role he has played in the ANC and would have played in a future South Africa. It is really a loss to those who knew him."

Burkina Faso

Algerian Minister Meets Compaore, Comments

AB1104150593 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 0630 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Text] Algerian Foreign Minister Redha Malek arrived in Burkina Faso on 8 April. His visit is in line with the permanent consultations between Algeria and Burkina Faso. After meeting with President Blaise Compaore yesterday, he stated that he exchanged views with the head of state on the ways and means of developing bilateral relations. In the evening, a reception was hosted by Burkinabe Foreign Minister Thomas Sanou in honor of Mr. Malek at the Hotel Independence. For Mr. Sanou, the Algerian minister's visit further strengthened the bonds of friendship and cooperation between Algeria and Burkina Faso. Here is what Mr. Sanou had to say:

[Begin Sanou recording] The present international situation, in which developing countries' economies and stability are sorely tried, should incite African states work for more active solidarity and better cooperation to achieve economic integration. This is because it is the only way of ensuring better living conditions for their peoples now that Africa is increasingly marginalized in North-South cooperation. In this context, the dynamic and trustful relations of cooperation existing between Algeria and Burkina Faso constitute a reason for encouragement and hope. Burkina Faso will spare no efforts to promote the same type of solidarity and cooperation in Africa as that existing between Algeria and Burkina Faso. [end recording]

Let us now listen to the Algerian foreign minister talking to Rose Sidibe about the role played by his country to solve the Tuareg problem.

[Begin recording] [Malek] We consider the Tuareg problem in that country to be a domestic problem, but Algeria continues to say it is available to help solve the problem. We are for true stability and security in this subregion, especially at a time when there are many cases of destabilization in the world. We want stability to prevail in our subregion, and we stress this. We want stability in Burkina Faso, Niger, and Mali, as this is in the interests of Algeria, which is a neighboring and sister country.

[Sidibe] You are making a 48-hour visit to Burkina Faso. How are bilateral relations?

[Malek] Our bilateral relations are good, even excellent. There are no disputes between us. [end recording]

[Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French at 1300 GMT on 9 April in a related item reports the following: "In the bilateral cooperation sector, Algerian Foreign Affairs Redha Malek has just completed a 48-hour visit to Burkina Faso and left our capital a few moments ago. He was received by President Compaore, to whom he delivered a message from Ali

Kafi, chairman of the Higher State Council. He also held discussions with his Burkinabe counterpart. Furthermore, under the chairmanship of the two foreign ministers, a working session yesterday brought together the delegations of both countries. On the occasion, the two sides exchanged views on issues of common interest at the international, regional, and national levels. They also examined ways and means of strengthening bilateral cooperation."]

Ghana

Opposition Leader on Unrest, Togolese Opposition

AB0904230093 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 7 Apr 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The NDC [National Democratic Congress] government in Ghana and the extraparliamentary opposition have been at each other's throat recently over a number of issues, among them the allegations that Ghana has been backing the opposition in neighboring Togo, especially over the recent attack on President Eyadema's residence. For its part, the government claims that the opposition was involved in the unrest at the University of Ghana at Legon which reopened today, two weeks after clashes on the campus between police and students closed it down.

Professor Albert Adu-Boahen, the presidential candidate of the New Patriotic Party, NPP, recently paid a visit to Tamale in northern Ghana. And while he was there, Joan Baxter took the opportunity to ask him about the speculation that politics had been behind the student unrest.

[Begin recording] [Adu-Boahen] I can assure you that we of the NPP have officially no connections with the student bodies as such, nor are we behind all these troubles at all. We....

[Baxter, interrupting] Officially.

[Adu-Boahen] Pardon me?

[Baxter] Officially.

[Adu-Boahen] We don't have any offi....[changes thought] Yes, that's what I said, officially, and even privately as far as I am concerned. I'm a former university professor. I was in the university for 25 years and I can tell you that I have no connection whatsoever with any of the student bodies, nor have I anything at all to do with the recent events on the campus, even though I've started teaching there recently, and what is going on is a direct result of the students' own frustration, disgust, anger with not only the—what do you call—the killer budget, but also with the fact that the allowances and the loans being given to them are absolutely inadequate in the light of the recent price increases and the inflationary trends in the country.

[Baxter] Now, the NEW STATESMAN, which is an NPP-leaning...

[Adu-Boahen, interrupting] Yes.

[Baxter] weekly paper in Ghana. There have been quite a few commentaries, editorial columns, in which it appears the NPP is coming out to back Eyadema just because they feel that the NDC government is supporting the people in the south who are the opposition against Eyadema. Is that the case?

[Adu-Boahen] No, there are many NPP members just as there are many, I am sure, even NDC members who think that since the government is backing the opposition in Togo, the opposition should back the other side. But this has never been an official policy. It has not been official policy. But we do still maintain that we are very disturbed about the fact of the extent of the government's involvement with the opposition in Togo. The opposition members are allowed to come to Ghana, they are given a place on the TV, they hold press conferences, and so on. I always wonder, if I were to go to Togo today and see the opposition, see Eyadema, I wonder the sort of reception I will be given when I come back to Ghana. So, we are naturally concerned about this.

[Baxter] But you, as the unofficial opposition in Ghana, you should have a lot of sympathy with the opposition in Togo because they are just struggling for a constitutional government the same as you are.

[Adu-Boahen] Every group anywhere, every party, every NGO [non-governmental organization] that is fighting for democracy, for human rights, for freedom, that group will enjoy the automatic support of the NPP anywhere. [end recording]

German Cooperation Minister Visits Accra

AB1104191793 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Text] The German minister for economic cooperation, Mr. Carl-Dieter Spranger, has underlined the need for African countries to sustain their spirit of self-help. He says African countries must also be aware of their joint responsibility for their political development and not merely look for assistance from international donors. This is contained in a message released in Accra. Christian Tagoe has the details:

[Begin Tagoe recording] Whereas the German unification, the developments in the European Community, and more recently, events in the Commonwealth of Independent States continue to give cause for worry to most African countries that German earlier interest to support economic cooperation on the continent would dwindle, this continues to be denied from official German quarters. Indeed, the recent visit to sub-Saharan Africa by Mr. Spranger could be seen as a step to assure African countries that Germany will continue with her economic cooperation program for them.

While in Ghana as part of a tour of sub-Saharan Africa, Mr. Spranger had talks with not only government officials, but also private entrepreneurs. By the visit, Mr. Spranger sought to demonstrate the German Government's concern to sub-Saharan Africa and also to impress upon his host governments the need to create, among other things, appropriate mechanisms and instruments to assume more responsibility and check human rights violations.

In the message just released, Mr. Spranger praised Ghana and Mali for moving rapidly toward market economies and democracies. He observed that although democratic reforms were difficult in the beginnings, the experiences gained by Ghana and Mali showed that in Africa as elsewhere, they were not doomed to failure from the onset. He noted for about a decade now, Ghana has pursued a development strategy in cooperation with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund aimed at implementing comprehensive economic reforms and consolidating the country's microeconomic structure process.

Indeed, as contained in Mr. Spranger's message, if Ghana systematically continues to pursue her current reform course, in 14 years' time she may manage to be the first black African country to enter the group of advanced developing countries by World Bank standards. Germany has provided a total of 146 million German marks to support Ghana's market economy reform, as well as alleviating negative social effects. It is hoped that the data gathered from his recent visit would encourage more German investors to enter Ghana for more mutually beneficial undertakings. [end recording]

Liberia

ECOMOG Foils NPFL Attack on Kakata

AB1204162093 Paris AFP in English 1610 GMT
12 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Monrovia, April 12 (AFP)—The multinational ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] force in Liberia has foiled a bid by Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front (NPFL) to recapture Kakata at the weekend, military sources said here Monday.

The sources said the attack on Kakata, 55 kilometres (35 miles) northeast of Monrovia, was launched early Saturday by "hundreds of NPFL rebels armed to the teeth with sophisticated weapons and heavy artillery."

Military sources said "ECOMOG defeated the attackers, inflicting on them heavy casualties and capturing large quantities of arms from them." [passage omitted]

Mali**Konare Names Sow as New Prime Minister***AB1304075593 Paris AFP in English 0141 GMT
13 Apr 93*

[Excerpt] Bamako, April 13 (AFP)—President Alpha Oumar Konare of Mali has named Abdoulaye Sekou Sow as prime minister, two days after the collective resignation of the country's government, it was announced here late Monday.

Sow was minister of state for defence in the outgoing government headed by Younoussi Toure, which resigned in the wake of violent student demonstrations last week in Bamako.

The demonstrations by university and secondary school students, during which the national assembly, several ministry buildings, and the offices of political parties were set alight, left one dead and 45 wounded.

Sow, 62, is not member of any political organisation, though he is close to President Konare's Alliance for Democracy in Mali (ADEMA). [passage omitted]

National Pact Monitoring Committee Ends Meeting*AB1204212393 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du
Mali Radio in French 1300 GMT 11 Apr 93*

[Text] The fourth statutory meeting of the National Pact Implementation Monitoring Committee [NAMIPOC] ended this morning in the Tiama Room of the Hotel de l'Amitie. The closing ceremony was presided over by the head of state, Mr. Alpha Oumar Konare, in the presence of Algerian Foreign Minister Redha Malek. Also present were members of the National Assembly Bureau, the government, the Unified Front of the Azawad, and the commissioner for the northern region, Colonel Brahim Sire Traore. The participants adopted important resolutions for the implementation of the National Pact and expressed satisfaction with the spirit that prevailed during the deliberations. Alassane Hag Mohamed was there:

[Begin recording] [Mohamed] The session took stock of the activities undertaken since the signing of the National Pact just one year ago, pointing out that this is the last meeting as stipulated in the document signed on 11 April 1992. After reviewing the various phases of National Pact implementation, the commission expressed satisfaction with the efforts made by the government to mobilize bilateral and multilateral cooperation. The session congratulated the Cease-Fire Commission for a job well done in preserving security in the northern regions. The participants condemned the banditry perpetrated during the past months and called on

the authorities to take urgent measures to dissolve self-defense brigades that are developing mistrust and hindering national reconciliation. In this regard, the establishment of special units as genuine instruments to strengthen security and national unity should be accelerated.

After the signing of the documents by the Malian Government and the Unified Front of the Azawad, the mediator, represented by Algerian Foreign Minister Redha Malek, reiterated the complete solidarity and the availability of his country to ensure the total success of the National Pact.

[Malek] By my presence here, the Higher State Council of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria wants to reiterate its active solidarity jointly with the noble Malian people and their leaders, as well as its determination to always be at their side to promote concord between all Malians and to consolidate their national unity. Mr. President, the signing of the National Pact was a brilliant success not only for Mali but also for our subregion and the entire African continent.

[Mohamed] In his closing speech, the head of state recalled that the signing of the National Pact marked a decisive step in the consolidation of national unity. That is why he expressed his gratitude to all those who helped make it a success.

[Konare] The NAMIPOC fourth statutory session happily coincides with the first anniversary of the signing of the pact. That is why I would like to take this opportunity to praise the unwavering support we received from friendly countries, the sister Republic of Algeria as the mediator, France, and other countries who made all possible efforts to implement the resolutions contained in the National Pact, the symbol of peace, and which the government is untiringly working to successfully implement.

[Mohamed] In order to facilitate the functioning of the various organs, the government has set up an interministerial commission to implement the National Pact, presided over by the prime minister. Despite some skepticism, administrative slackness, and even insecurity, the signatories to the National Pact did not give up. They were able to preserve the essential results.

[Konare] Comrades of the Azawad, despite all the difficulties, we did not leave each other. Why should we? Where else would we go, and what for? We were able to contain some impatient reactions—understandable sometimes—and we were able to preserve the essentials of national unity, territorial integrity, and a single Malian Armed Forces bearing the true colors of Mali.

[Mohamed] President Konare also expressed satisfaction with the mutual trust that enabled the implementation of the pact in a spirit of openness and rigor. To conclude, he recalled that the victory of the pact is a victory of the Malian youth, that of the entire Malian people, and that of the subregion in their efforts to establish what he

called a regional front for peace, stability, and development—the only springboard to democracy. [end recording]

Algerian Minister Leaves

AB1204124593 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 2000 GMT 11 Apr 93

[Text] Mr. Redha Malek, member of the Higher State Committee and Algerian foreign minister, today ends his 48-hour visit to our country. Mr. Malek attended the closing ceremony of the statutory meeting of Monitoring Commission of the National Pact before being received by President Alpha Oumar Konare. Mr. Malek said that his talks with the Malian president were an exchange of views on how to initiate a responsible policy to ensure security and stability in the region. After his audience with the head of state, the Algerian foreign minister held a news conference at the Algerian Embassy in Bamako to address the issues of security and stability. Reporter Brema Camara was there:

[Begin Camara recording] The visit to Mali by Algerian Foreign Minister Redha Malek is the last leg of a series of visits that took him to neighboring sub-Saharan countries. He says that it is normal for Algeria to strengthen relations with her southern neighbors besides following the policy of cooperation between Maghreb countries.

As he did in Mali, Mr. Malek tried to get a clear idea about the current developments in the various countries and assess the prospects of cooperation in the atmosphere of today's preoccupation with security and stability in the region. According to Mr. Malek, his discussions with the various authorities of the region brought about the idea that security should be strengthened in the subregion and that we should strive to establish stability, without which neither the democratic process nor the economic revamping program can succeed.

During the period when efforts were made by the Malian Government and the rebellion that led to the signing of the National Pact, national unity and sovereignty had to be safeguarded. Mr. Malek assured that it is without any ulterior motives or hopes for any benefits that Algeria is modestly contributing to the process.

Questioned on the political situation prevailing in his country, Mr. Malek said that democracy is an internal necessity in Algeria for its development. He added that democracy demands a transition that should be well planned if one does not want to see the country go astray. He said that we cannot accept the attitude of those who use democracy to combat democracy or the state. [end recording]

Niger

MNSD Communique Responds to Prime Minister

AB1104110193 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1200 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Communique from the National Movement of the Development Society, MNSD-Nassara, read by Mahamane Sani Bako; date and place not given]

[Text] Mr. Amadou Cheiffou has just assessed the transitional period that he led. The people of Niger realize that all of Mr. Cheiffou's arguments centered on holding the national conference responsible for the failure of the transitional government's policy. Furthermore, the people of Niger learned that those who form the backbone of the nation, especially the unions, are allegedly the major impediment to the achievement of the assigned task. The people have also discovered that everything is well in Niger now because living conditions in the rural community are better. Health care is guaranteed for at least six months, students are particularly satisfied about their conditions, and the National Armed Forces have been reorganized.

MNSD-Nassara notes these points and the quality of what has been bequeathed to the authorities of the Third Republic and expects the authorities to confirm this conclusion by Mr. Cheiffou. This account, which is meant to be comprehensive, went into great detail, to the point of taking into account typewriters and laser printers, but nevertheless skipped issues of prime importance that the people of Niger strongly await: What happened to the Niger hostages of the rebellion? How many are still being held? Why did Mr. Amadou Cheiffou order the inquiry into the Abala attack against the chairman of the MNSD-Nassar to be shelved? Exactly how much was in the security fund? What was it used for? Who actually gained from it? What pretext was given for the dubious invoicing of 4.070 billion CFA francs of military assistance obtained from friendly countries? Where did the proceeds from the sale of the Saudian corn kindly offered to Niger go? As of 9 December 1991, these proceeds amounted to 571.648 million CFA francs banked in an account opened at the (SOLIBANK).

Further questions include: What actually happened to the purchase of a dredging plant by the prime minister, allegedly on behalf of the National Armed Forces?

The people of Niger have a right to obtain prompt and straightforward answers to these questions before the inauguration of the authorities of the Third Republic.

For these reasons and many others, the MNSD-Nassara endorses holding a forum to take a critical and objective look at the transitional period. While waiting for the audit office of the Supreme Court to give its views on Mr. Amadou Cheiffou's management, the MNSD-Nassara calls for measures to be taken so that Mr. Amadou Cheiffou does not leave the country.

Nigeria

Government Condemns Hani Assassination

AB1204123093 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1500 GMT 11 Apr 93

[Text] The Federal Government has expressed shock over the cold-blooded murder of Mr. Chris Hani, one of the leading members of the African National Congress [ANC]. In a statement today, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs condemned the perpetrators of the assassination. The government expressed the hope that the assassination will not derail the transition towards the majority rule in South Africa. It conveyed the sympathy of the Federal Government to the family of Mr. Chris Hani, the ANC, the president, and South Africans in general.

Togo

Opposition Leader Gnininvi Interviewed

AB1104135593

[Editorial Report] Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French on 8 and 9 April on pages 20 and 19 carries a 1,000-word "exclusive interview" with Leopold Gnininvi, Togolese Collective of Democratic Opposition [COD-II] leader, by reporter Noel Yao on 6 April in Abidjan.

In the 8 April issue, in response to accusations that the 25 March attack on the Togolese Interarms Regiment in Lome was planned by COD-II, Gnininvi says the attack was a set up designed to get rid of some high-ranking officers, adding "it is strange that in an operation, it is the senior officers who fall first. The first results of the investigation were surprising. They involved General Ameji and Colonel Akpo, who was wounded and who died in Paris, to where he had been evacuated. It is for these reasons that we suspected an internal operation aimed at eliminating some embarrassing officers."

He adds that despite the fact that the two officers were openminded, they were true soldiers and had no complicity with the opposition. Gnininvi says people were shocked by the deaths and have asked for the establishment of an international investigative commission.

Noel Yao says that "one of them, Mr. Gilchrist Olympio, said before the 25 March attack that he would not shy from an armed struggle against the Eyadema regime. This can be viewed as proof or a hint of the 25 March attempt...." Gnininvi responds that this statement could be interpreted that way, but adds that he can assure people that "Gilchrist Olympio had nothing to do with this attack."

Asked for his opinion on Prime Minister Koffigoh's attitude, Mr. Gnininvi says that he does not condemn or blame him for anything because he is facing a very difficult situation.

On 9 April, FRATERNITE MATIN continues the interview with the COD-II leader. Reporter Noel Yao asks if "the opposition's objective is the departure or removal of Mr. Eyadema?" Gnininvi says that opposition factions exist but their ultimate battle is not to topple Eyadema at any cost. He says that their struggle is aimed at strengthening the democratic regime. He adds: "If we can use the old regime to change, this does not necessarily mean the removal of General Eyadema but supposes that each one of us agrees to abide by the new rules and agrees to hold elections."

On the question of national unity, Gnininvi says that the issue has always been a main preoccupation of the opposition. Noel Yao says that "President Eyadema has said that a civil war is not possible in Togo...." Gnininvi responds: "I would like to share this optimistic view with Mr. Eyadema. I do not believe in the probability of a civil war. In a civil war and—I will paraphrase Eyadema himself—there is no loser and no victor. I therefore thank Mr. Eyadema for this statement and call on him to make the necessary efforts to prevent the ingredients of a civil war from rising."

Asked about the general strike launched by the opposition, Gnininvi says that a strike is the expression of a social malaise. Noel Yao says that Togolese have become errant citizens in the subregion, to which the COD-II leader says that it is shameful and dishonorable for Togo to see the pitiful conditions in which some of their compatriots are living in neighboring countries. He says that there is still time to breach the gaps and put the pieces together to give Togo a chance to start anew.

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